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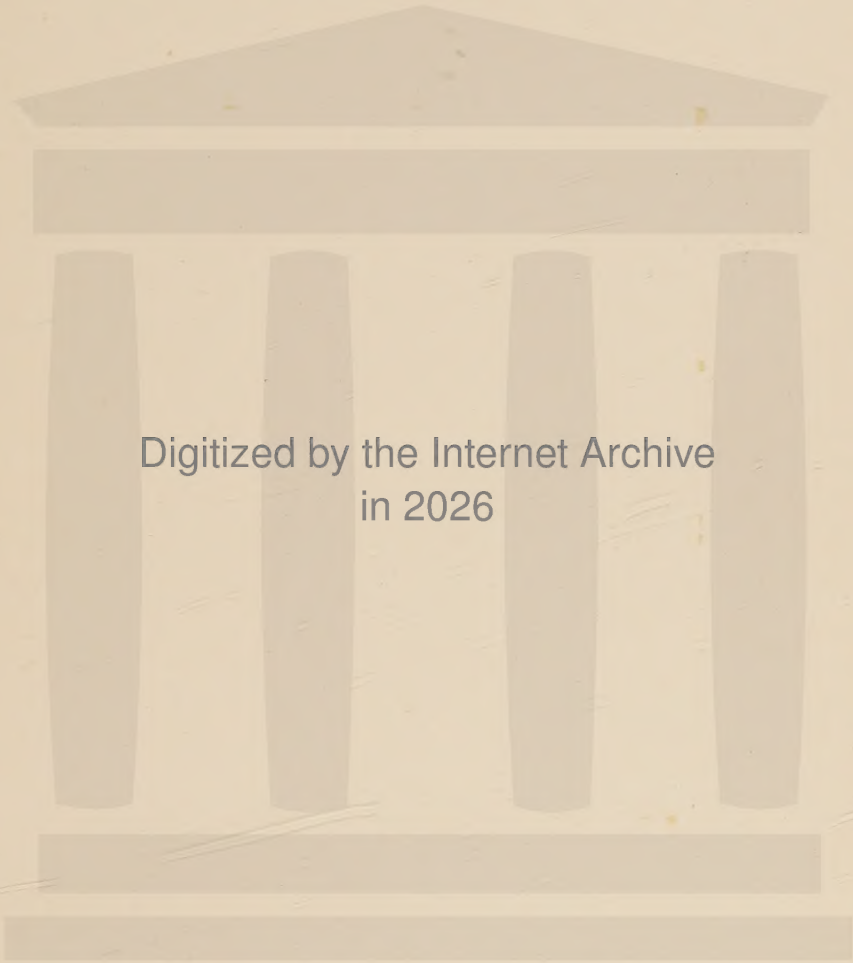
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University of Toronto Studies

REVIEW OF

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

RELATING TO CANADA

VOL. XI

REVIEW OF

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

RELATING TO CANADA

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REVIEW OF

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

I. CANADA'S RELATIONS TO THE EMPIRE

The Old Colonial System. By Gerald Berkely Hertz. Manchester : At the University Press, 1905. Pp. xi, 232.

This volume is written on the most approved principles of historical research. For every statement of fact the authority is given in footnotes. The book represents an attempt to explain the real significance of the British colonial system before the American Revolution, and its failure as shown in that great upheaval. There are chapters on " Great Britain and the Seven Years' War," "Pitt's influence as Minister," " United Empire Loyalty," " Colonial Theory in 1783," and other topics.

If we ask what was this old colonial theory which inspired, for instance, Pitt, in his great schemes of acquisition, the answer is that it aimed at world dominion centred in Great Britain. The Empire should be self-sufficing, producing its own raw materials of cotton, wool, tobacco, etc. This raw material should be manufactured almost wholly in Britain. Trade was to be regulated by the parent state, and the colonies were expected to find abundant compensation for everything in the enlarged market which her efforts should bring them.

Such was the policy which Pitt championed. Mr. Hertz holds that George III has been blamed unduly as the cause of the American Revolution. What really caused it was the old colonial policy which England was united in supporting. Pitt himself was an Englishman rather than an Imperial Briton. True, he fought to acquire great territories, but his views as to their government were no more enlightened than

those of his contemporaries. He was as ready to coerce the colonies and to regulate their commerce as was George III, though he balked at the proposal to tax them against their will. The real problem of empire was to reconcile strong government for common purposes with the particularist tendencies which each colony in time developed. Pitt did nothing to solve it. The Imperial Federationists of a generation ago had a plan but failed to commend it to practical statesmen, and the question is still in the clouds.

The effect of the American Revolution was to destroy this old and bad colonial theory, and, for many long years after 1783, the idea prevailed that Britain's interests lay in getting trade, not territory. Animosity against the revolted States died out quickly. Their money was as good as that of the Canadians, and money was the principal thing. Under the dominance of this *laissez-aller* school of thought many Britons came to think that possessions were only entanglements. To them the loss of the English colonies was a real blessing, for, while it did not diminish trade, it lessened responsibility. This school would have let even Gibraltar go. It gave up Minorca. Canada's boundaries were not worth fighting for, and hence successive surrenders to the urgency of the United States. Opposite views some, of course, held, but they did not control British policy.

Such is the purport of Mr. Hertz's history. He makes no elaborate application of all this to present-day theories of Empire. He seems to adopt Mr. Jebb's view that the British Empire is to be an alliance of free states founded on common ideas and on imperial defence. With an alliance thus real capital will flow to those parts of the Empire most needing it for their development. Pervading the whole conception is that of the dominance of self-interest in each part of the Empire. The loyalists of the American Revolution, who sacrificed everything to a sentiment, Mr. Hertz thinks amiable dreamers whose hearts were better than their heads.

Mr. Egerton's *History of Colonial Policy** has been reprinted with a supplementary chapter. The volume is still practically alone in its field, and based, as it is, upon a wide range of authorities, it is a work not easily rivalled. In a previous volume we have discussed it at some length. The new chapter relates chiefly to the causes of the Boer War. It is gratifying to note that the merit of Mr. Egerton's work has been recognized by his appointment as Beit Professor of Colonial History at Oxford.

L'Union Britannique. Par Paul Houdeau. Paris : A. Rousseau, 1906. Pp. xvi, 276.

Last year we had occasion to notice a remarkable study of the British Colonial Empire by the Belgian jurist, H. Speyer. Now we have before us another, if possible an even more careful and profound study of the same subject under the title, *L'Union Britannique*, by Paul Houdeau. Mr. Siegfried's notable work on Canada, noticed elsewhere, may be mentioned in the same category. It is perhaps not too much to say that it is impossible as yet to parallel any one of these studies of the British Empire by any English work. And such studies by foreign publicists are worthy of very special attention. They are able to write with a detachment of mind and a freedom from bias to which it is scarcely possible for a British subject to attain when dealing with a topic which lies so near to the hearts of his fellow-countrymen. The present work, which is dedicated to Mr. James Bryce, the British Ambassador at Washington, is a profound and accurate study of the institutions of the self-governing British colonies, of the Imperial government in relation to them, and of British imperialism generally, its present phases and its future prospects. With remarkable acumen M. Houdeau calls attention to features of the problem generally neglected. Thus he says :

**A Short History of British Colonial Policy.* By H. E. Egerton. Reissue with supplementary chapter. London : Methuen and Co., 1906. Pp. xv, 503.

" As in the case of the constitution of England itself, time has been the principal artisan in the making of that strange assemblage which constitutes the British Union. . . . . Let us pay time the tribute due to it for its original productions ; and let us not distress ourselves over its slowness."

Again :

" It would be showing little knowledge of England to believe that, through the fear, perhaps chimerical, of losing her self-governing colonies she will ever consent to run the risk of becoming in her turn the dependency of her dependencies."

Again :

" There is one thing which the progress made has not been able to end ; it is the absence of contiguity between the different parts composing the Union. In this sense the sea has remained, and always does remain, an abyss. An immense territory like that of the United States comprises regions which differ from one another in every respect : but the road between them passes through intermediate regions which partake at the same time of the characteristics of both of them. In the Empire there is nothing like this."

Again :

" Lucretius' sentence is false : *Coelum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt.* Under the misleading appearance of a great similitude of gestures, manners, customs, even of little personal tricks, which, when combined with an almost complete analogy of institutions, might make one believe in an absolute identity of character, there do in fact exist many differences. The Englishman of London and the Melbourne or Auckland man do not look at things from the same angle."

It is tempting to go on multiplying quotations from this remarkable study, but the utmost which space will permit is briefly to indicate the ultimate conclusions at which the author arrives; and it may be stated by way of preface that the whole book is written in an obviously friendly spirit towards Britain and British institutions. The author differs from M. Speyer, who arrives at the conclusion that we must look to the military domain for the first germs of a federal organization of the Empire. M. Houdeau, on the other hand, believes that a constitutional union must come first. In a striking passage he writes as follows :

" It is clearly manifest that for the moment neither the military union nor the economic union of England and her self-governing colonies is realizable. It was a mistake to believe it possible to reach this point before attaining to a constitutional union, and as preparatory to the latter. Defence has remained, notwithstanding the complaints of the mother country, almost exclusively at her charge ; and Mr. Chamberlain's scheme, a timid proposal, which is nothing but a *pis aller*, has not met in the colonies,—not even in New Zealand, where the most impassioned of Imperialists holds rule, the impetuous Mr. Seddon,—the support which the ex-Secretary for the Colonies believed himself entitled to hope for. The members of the Union are extremely jealous of their fiscal autonomy, and are not willing to assume any engagement which might possibly take it away in any degree whatever.

In any case they will never consent to arrange their tariffs in such a way as to hinder the development on their territory of industries capable of competing with those of the mother country. It is in this sense that one may say with M. Marcel Dubois that the Empire presents to us a conflict of egoisms. The Empire then will be political, or it will not be at all. It will be only when the Imperial nation shall have been organized at least in its larger aspects that there will be any hope of solving the conflict of interests which to-day divides its parts."

In this view of the essential necessity of closer political union as a condition precedent to military and economic union, M. Houdeau has the support of no less an authority than Lord Milner.

What prospect then is there of such a real political union being brought about ? M. Houdeau agrees with what is now the general feeling that the idea of complete federation must be abandoned. The direction wherein he discovers hope is indicated in the following passages which must be the last to be here quoted from this admirable essay :

" The natural and in some sort spontaneous organization of an Imperial Council is on the other hand probable. The Council already exists in embryo. The conferences which have three times brought together in London the prime ministers of the self-governing colonies are its prototype. Up to yesterday their occasion has been some solemnity or other, a jubilee or a coronation. Henceforth they will take place at a fixed date, every four years, and it is possible that circumstances may before long necessitate more frequent meetings. Next the increasing complexity of the affairs of the Empire may require that instead of being temporary the Council become permanent. From this point to the point of recognizing the decisions of this common organ as obligatory,—according it the character of a deliberating and acting body, after a method of selecting its members has been provided less arbitrary than by the nomination of the Governments interested,—is but a single step. . . . There is no room therefore for despair. One may have the same confidence in the constitution of the Britannic Union as in the constitution of England, for the one is but an outgrowth of the other, and has inherited its invaluable qualities."

A. H. F. LEFROY

M. Victor Bérard has won a name in present day literature chiefly by his writings on Russia. But he has paid some attention also to Britain, and his *L'Angleterre et l'Impérialisme* has now been done into English.* The book is largely an elaborate and caustic attack on British industrialism which must decline since " rational Germany, mighty and creative,

**British Imperialism and Commercial Supremacy.* By M. Victor Bérard. Translated by H. W. Foskett. London : Longmans, Green and Co., 1906. Pp. x, 298.

sits astride the twentieth century" (p. 295). M. Bérard is nothing if not cock-sure, but he is not as well informed as he thinks he is. For instance, he supposes that Canada can have only an agricultural future (pp. 219-20) : she is to produce butter, cheese, wheat and timber. It has not dawned on M. Bérard that Canada has vast mineral wealth, and that she is situated so favourably for manufacturing industry that the enterprise in this respect of the United States is being rapidly duplicated in Canada. Both M. Bérard and his translator are unaware that Australia has been federated (p. 135). The book is interesting, if only for its one-sidedness. M. Bérard is merciless in showing the difficulties of effecting the trade federation of the British Empire, but the facts are against him when he speaks of the decline of British trade.

Dr. Alexander Supan, the editor of the well-known "Petermanns Mitteilungen," has published an excellent history of the territorial development of the European colonies,* encyclopaedic in range. Beginning with the discovery of America it covers the history of European colonizing effort until the present time. The historical text is based chiefly on secondary material and the brief sections which relate to Canada call for no special mention here. It is worthy of note that the book is an attempt to bring the history of all efforts at colonization in all parts of the world into a single volume. More noteworthy still are the maps. The 12 large maps give us twelve panoramic views of the European colonies between 1486 and the present time. They are beautifully executed, and are an original and effective contribution to the understanding of colonial history.

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*_Die territoriale Entwicklung der Europäischen Kolonien._ Mit einem kolonialgeschichtlichen Atlas von 12 Karten, und 40 Kärtchen im Text. Von Prof. Dr. Alexander Supan. Gotha : Justus Perthes, 1906. Pp. xi, 344.

II. THE HISTORY OF CANADA

A History of all Nations. In 24 volumes. Philadelphia : Lea Brothers & Co., [1905-06].

The American portion of the monumental *History of all Nations* was committed to the late John Fiske, and his account of the new world is confined to volumes xxi, xxii, and xxiii. Mr. Fiske died before the work appeared, and apparently Professor J. B. McMaster has edited the manuscript. Taken together the chapters which relate to Canada would make a very creditable short history of the Dominion. In marked contrast with much that is written in the United States about Canada the tone is almost too appreciative. The author claims that under British rule the progress of Canada has been as rapid relatively as has been that of the United States :

" In 1763, Canada had a population of about 65,000 souls. After 137 years—that is to say, in 1900—the number had increased to about 5,300,000, which is almost exactly the same as that of the United States in 1800. Now in 1663 the population of the United States must have been not far from 65,000, so that for corresponding periods the growth of the Canadian population seems to have been about the same as our own. . . . . It may surprise some readers to be told that at the present day the Dominion of Canada is the fourth commercial power in the world, Great Britain being first, the United States second, and France third. . . . There is much reason for supposing that before the end of the twentieth century the population of Canada will considerably outnumber that of either France or Germany " (xxiii, pp. 284-5).

We may accept the author's prophecies while balking a little at his placing Canada's trade before that of Germany,—an incomprehensible error. There are a good many slips : " Jonquire " for Jonquière (xxii, p. 67); " Louisburg " for Louisbourg (p. 66); " Levi " for Lévis (p. 89). It is doubtful whether Pontiac's plot to attack Detroit was revealed by " a young Indian woman " (p. 94). The British Parliament did not take two and a half years to complete the British North America Act (xxiii, p. 297). The powers of the Governor-General in Canada are absurdly overstated, the author obviously thinking that he rules as does the President of the United States (p. 299). The information in regard to the number of cabinet ministers and of provinces is not up-to-date.

So generous is the author's tone that he praises the loyalists who turned their backs on the United States :

" These exiles were for the most part men of wealth and good social position ; they were also men of principle, whom the United States could ill afford to lose ; and they were sturdy lovers of liberty" (p. 287).

In discussing the prospect of Canada's absorption by the United States, the writer sees a wider vision :

" What is more probable is, that both these great countries will at some future time become joined with Australasia, South Africa, and the British Islands in a grand federal union of English-speaking people " (p. 303).

The illustrations are excellent.

Miss Maria Lawson's *History of Canada** is intended for use in British Columbia. It is written in an interesting style, a little sentimental in places, and the tone of hostility to the United States is not judicial. There are also a good many minor errors such as, to quote only from one chapter, that Cap Rouge is twenty miles from Quebec (p. 120) and the statement, in view of recent discussions more than doubtful, that Wolfe repeated aloud Gray's " Elegy " as his boats dropped down to the Anse de Foulon on the night of September 12-13, 1759. But the book will interest its young readers, which is an important thing.

Professor John Bassett Moore's *American Diplomacy*† is a valuable series of papers on the diplomatic achievements of the United States. Questions in regard to the boundary between Canada and the United States are discussed briefly, and the author praises Lord Alverstone for giving in the Alaska award " the highest proof of the independence and impartiality of the British bench by joining in a decision favourable to the United States " (p. 214). He says that "as late as 1870 the annexation of Canada....was the subject of informal discussions between British and American diplomatists " (p. 242).

**History of Canada for use in Public Schools.* By Maria Lawson. Edited by A. H. Reynar. Toronto : W. J. Gage & Co., [1906]. Pp. 290.

†*American Diplomacy : its Spirit and Achievements.* By John Bassett Moore. New York : Harper and Brothers, 1905. Pp. xii, 286.

We welcome the series of " Original Narratives of Early American History," published under the auspices of the American Historical Association with the competent editorship of Professor Jameson.* The aim is to give not a series of extracts, but the whole of such works as are selected, and always in English, translations being taken from the earliest editions. The volumes are for popular use and originals are not given with the translations. The first volume includes the narratives of the Norse settlements, probably within what is now Canada, and the material for the Cabot voyages, both of interest for the history of Canada. The introductions to each section are by competent scholars. We are promised in the same series material relating to Cartier and to Champlain. In the present volume Professor Olson, of the University of Wisconsin, furnishes an introductory note to the Saga of Eric the Red and the Vinland history of the Flat Island Book. He attaches the greater historical value to the former. Though there is now hardly any doubt as to the reality of the expedition of the Northmen to America about the year 1000 A.D., Professor Olson wisely makes no efforts to identify localities named in the sagas. Probably they lay within Labrador, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia. He supports Fiske, against Vigfússon, in thinking that the savages with whom the settlers came into conflict were American Indians rather than Eskimos. Future historians of Canada must pay more attention to these sagas than has hitherto been the custom. Professor E.G. Bourne publishes in English the extremely scanty original material relating to the voyage of John Cabot and consisting of but four brief letters. This material is already well known. Professor Bourne thinks that " owing to the vigorous and learned arguments of Dr. S. E. Dawson there has been an increasing disposition to accept Cape Breton on Cape Breton Island as the most probable location [of Cabot's landfall]" (p. 423, note).

*_The Northmen, Columbus and Cabot, 985-1503. The Voyages of the Northmen._ Edited by Julius E. Olson. _The Voyages of Columbus and of John Cabot._ Edited by Edward Gaylord Bourne. (Original Narratives of Early American History.) New York : Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906. Pp. xiv, 443.

A popularly written book entitled *Heroes of Discovery in America** contains chapters on the Norse discoverers, the Cabots, Cortereal and Verrazano, Cartier, Frobisher, and Davis, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Champlain, La Vérendrye (improperly styled Vérendrye throughout), Hearne and Mackenzie, Franklin and his successors in the search for a northwest passage, down to Amundsen, whose expedition was only completed last year. The book is pleasantly written and though the chapters are necessarily brief they contain all the essentials. The information, moreover, except for some slight errors, is accurate.

A Memoir of Jacques Cartier, Sieur de Limoilou; his Voyages to the St. Lawrence, a Bibliography and a Facsimile of the Manuscript of 1534, with Annotations, etc. By James Phinney Baxter. New York : Dodd, Mead & Company, 1906. Pp. ix, 464. Maps and illustrations.

The author of this work is well known for his many and scholarly contributions to the history of the State of Maine. Two of these, his "Pioneers of France in New England" and his recent memoir on Champlain, touch upon Canadian history, and these studies upon the French explorations in America led him naturally enough to Cartier. The scope of the book, unfortunately, is not adequately expressed by its title. Although the author has nothing fundamentally new to offer us, his work is a monographic presentation of everything hitherto known relating to Cartier and his voyages, enriched by copious annotations and valuable facsimiles embodying much new detail, the whole set forth in a beautifully, indeed a luxuriously, printed volume. Though not without its blemishes, it is by far the most important single work that has yet appeared relating to its subject, and a great contribution to Cartierian literature.

The preface tells of the different narratives of Cartier's voyages, and the sources of the materials of this work, with

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**Heroes of Discovery in America.* By Charles Morris. Philadelphia and London : J. B. Lippincott Company, 1906. Pp. 344.

related comments. Then follows a memoir of Jacques Cartier. The facts of Cartier's life so far as known are interwoven with contemporary events to give us a picture of Cartier the man standing against the background of his time. There is a synoptical narrative of the voyages, with the events leading up to and connecting them, a discussion of various debatable matters, including the fourth voyage, an illustrated account of the pre-Cartierian cartography of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and a narrative of Cartier's later life, with an estimate, wholly favourable, of his character. Some slight lapses occur, as in the omission from the references on page 15 of Dawson's paper on Pope Alexander's line, the description on page 31 of forest glades as melodious with the songs of innumerable birds on September 19th (!), the printing of " north and south " for " east and west " in the account of the La Cosa map on page 63, and an awkward description on line 3 of page 64. Nor is the author's diction always of the clearest and simplest. But these flaws are slight, and scarcely mar a chapter which forms quite the best synopsis of Cartier's place in history known to the present reviewer.

Then follows a translation of the " Relation Originale " of the first voyage, made anew from the original manuscript. Dr. Baxter accepts it as a copy of Cartier's own narrative, though doubting that this particular manuscript is written by his own hand. This translation appears to be made with great care, while the many annotations contain a large amount of new information and illuminate many points hitherto obscure. It is very gratifying to observe that the author finds himself substantially in agreement upon all important points with the recent Canadian writers upon this subject, to whose works he gives full credit. The very fact of this agreement, after all the critical study the subject has received, makes it plain that now we know Cartier's itinerary on this important voyage almost to the minutest detail. We note in this chapter, too, an occasional lapse. Among the authorities on the Cabot voyage on page 76 should have been men-

tioned Dawson's very important work; surely on page 104 the abundance of kitchenmiddens in this region is greatly exaggerated, for those upon low grounds have largely been washed away by the sea which is encroaching upon the coast; the Indian name of Bay Chaleur on page 107 should read Mow- (not Mo*m*-) ebactabaak; it was not at Gaspé, as stated on page 113, that Le Clercq found the Porte-Croix Micmacs, but at Miramichi. But these are trifles; the chapter as a whole is admirable, and seems to leave very little to be said upon its subject.

The translation of the second voyage is not made from the familiar " Bref Récit," but from the best of three manuscript narratives (one of which apparently had been used by the editor of the Bref Récit) in the Bibliothèque Nationale. This copy contains some, though comparatively unimportant, matter omitted from the Bref Récit. Like that of the preceding voyage this translation seems carefully made, and is fully annotated, though it offers fewer points for such comment than the first voyage. The annotator makes a curious error on page 141 when he describes the mouth of the Saguenay as only two hundred and fifty rods wide and terminating there in an impetuous torrent. Here, as in the previous voyage, the annotations are especially valuable in their identification of the animals and plants mentioned by Cartier, though the author is certainly wrong in identifying "oultarde" (p. 158) with the brant ; it is the Canada goose.

The narrative of the Third Voyage, and the narrative of the voyage of Roberval are reprinted from Hakluyt, and of course are well annotated. Then follows a translation of the "course" of Jean Alphonse, with his maps, though curiously enough the author fails to give us any hint of the source of this document, for the note on page 260 is a very inadequate exposition of the subject.

Next comes one of the most valuable features of the book, —a facsimile reproduction of the entire manuscript of the Relation Originale. It is to be regretted that the author

does not tell us precisely how the reproduction is made, whether from tracings, or redrawn from photographs, or engraved directly from photographs of the original manuscript. This information would be of practical use in enabling us to judge of the value to be attached to the lettering at obscure points. And certainly it would have been a great addition if Dr. Baxter had given us also a transcript into Roman letters, for the ancient writing is hard enough to decipher in places. But we are thankful to have it upon any terms, and it would be ungracious to be hypercritical.

After the facsimile there are given translations of thirty "Collateral Documents" from French and Spanish, none of them new except in translation. The translator curiously enough in most cases fails to mention where the original has been printed. A tabular genealogy of Cartier's family is followed by a bibliography embracing 58 titles. The latter suffers somewhat from a monotonous and undifferentiating typography. A synoptical itinerary of the three voyages, and a very full index, complete the book.

The illustrations are not upon a par with the text. The modern map to illustrate the voyage is of only moderate artistic worth, is rather badly lettered, and has some errors in the names,—as Allegay for Allezay, and Cumberland Bay for Northumberland Strait. The frontispiece portrait of Cartier is a beautiful engraving from Hamel's copy of the original at St. Malo, but we fain would have had instead, and might have expected in such a work as this, a direct reproduction from the original. There is a good copy of the Gastaldi map from Ramusio, with, however, no mention of date, maker, or source, nor do these data accompany the plan of Hochelaga. The many woodcut maps are ample for their purpose. But the remainder of the illustrations, excepting only the familiar Manor of Limoilou, are well known fanciful pictures, from unexplained sources, showing the arrival of Cartier at Bay Chaleur, at Quebec, etc. The excellent engraving and artistic merits of these cuts do not alter the fact

that such pictures, whatever their effect in popular books, are wholly without value in a work of this highly scientific character.

But the unimportance of these criticisms in comparison with the great merits of the work will be obvious to the reader. They are offered only as a slight contribution towards the greater completeness and accuracy of the work, and also, perhaps, because, so far as the present reviewer's knowledge goes, the author nowhere else leaves himself open to attack. The work is not definitive, for the author has not reproduced all the originals. Furthermore, for finality, the student must follow Cartier's itineraries throughout in an efficient vessel, see the places from his point of view, fix their appearance for us by photography, and gather up the various scraps of information and interpretation which such a method alone can yield. Undoubtedly this will in time be done, and then we shall have a complete edition in superb form such as the interest and importance of the subject warrant. Until that time, Dr. Baxter's work is likely to remain the most authoritative and useful upon the subject of which it treats.

W. F. GANONG

In his work on *The St. Lawrence Basin*, published last year, Dr. Dawson stated that the story of the town of Brest, "founded 100 years before Quebec, with 200 houses, 1000 permanent inhabitants, and a resident governor," was a myth (p. 129). The source of this legend was then unknown, but Dr. Dawson has since succeeded in unearthing it.* The Lenox Library possesses a small book printed at Lyons in 1609, which is entitled *Coppie d'une Lettre envoyée de la Nouvelle France ou Canada par le Sieur de Combes, Gentilhomme Poictevin, à un sien amy.* This epistle, which contains an account of a pretended voyage from La Rochelle to Surfe [*sic*] in Canada, is dated "De Brest en Canada ce 13 Fevrier 1608."

**Brest on the Quebec Labrador.* By S. E. Dawson. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, second series, 1905-1906, volume xi, section ii, pp. 3-30, with two facsimiles.)

According to the author of this book Brest, which lay fifty leagues beyond Surfe, was the " principale ville de tout le pais, bien munie, grande et forte, peuplée d'environ cinquante mille hommes, et fournie de tout ce qui est nécessaire à l'enrichessement d'une bonne ville " (p. 6). The governor, the Sieur du Dongeon, received these travellers " avec telle magnificence et contentement que nous eussions sceu desirer " (p. 9). In very truth no such town ever existed. A harbour inside the Strait of Belle Isle was called Brest by the fishermen, even before Cartier's time. It is also mentioned at the close of the sixteenth century. Some literary man at Lyons heard of the harbour and in drawing up his *Voyage de Pantagruel* used the name. As Dr. Dawson rightly concludes, " the book is an evidence of an awakening interest in Canada at that time " (p. 30). We owe Dr. Dawson a debt of gratitude for having discovered the origin of this remarkable myth. A few facts are also added relating to Augustin Legardeur, Seigneur de Courtemanche.

The Voyages and Explorations of Samuel de Champlain (1604-1616), narrated by himself. Translated by Annie Nettleton Bourne, together with the Voyage of 1603, reprinted from Purchas His Pilgrimes, edited with introduction and notes by Edward Gaylord Bourne. Illustrated. Two vols. New York : A. S. Barnes & Company, 1906. Pp. xl, 254; ix, 229.

The present work, as a cover-title and an incidental remark by the editor inform us, is one of a " Trail Makers " series, though no hint is given as to its companion volumes. But it is plain that it is designed for a semi-popular audience. From an editor of such competence as Professor Bourne the reader is entitled to expect much, and he will not be disappointed in the quality of this book. It opens with an introduction by him in which Champlain's works and their translations are mentioned and reasons are given for the adoption of the edition of 1632 as the basis of the present

translation. Aside altogether from certain copyright difficulties connected with the use of the Otis-Slafter translation of the earlier editions, the editor considers the edition of 1632 despite sundry shortcomings especially valuable, both as the author's own final and revised edition of his own works, and also as expressing his criticism and judgment upon various aspects of colonization and colonial policy. The editor examines Abbé Laverdière's well known opinion that this edition was edited by another than Champlain, but is convinced that this conclusion is erroneous. The obvious objection to the use of this edition, that it omits so much of interest in the earlier narratives, is not viewed by the editor as serious, and he meets it to some extent by calling attention in the footnotes to the place and nature of such omissions. There follows a brief account of Champlain's life and work, and this, in its clearness and proportion, is the best brief treatment of its great subject known to the present reviewer. It is of interest to note that Professor Bourne accepts without question the correctness of Mr. Paltsits' conclusion that all the existing portraits of Champlain are fictitious, and derived from a single nineteenth century lithograph. Indeed no other conclusion seems possible after Mr. Paltsits' researches. The editor then estimates the value of Champlain's life work, to which he gives an even higher place than any other student has yet done, concluding that " in some one or two of the many fields of his activity others have surpassed Champlain, but no other Frenchman and no Spaniard or Englishman has attained his high level and wide range."

The translation, made by Mrs. Bourne, includes all of the edition of 1632 down to the close of Champlain's explorations in 1616. This is of course the first translation of this edition into English. The translation seems very well made, and reads very clearly. The footnotes are discriminating and fill well their intention, which is to explain the text, and not to extra-illustrate and extend it. Following this translation is a reprint of the translation of the Voyage of 1603 from

"Purchas His Pilgrimes", and this the editor gives, even at the risk of some repetition, in order to place before the reader Champlain's first impressions of the St. Lawrence and its Indians, especially as presented in a fine example of early seventeenth century English prose. This part of the book also is well annotated. The notes seem in general very accurate and the editor has made use of recent local publications, but here and there he trips. Thus the outarde was not the brant (vol. i, p. 6), but the Canada goose, and some other identifications are also wrong ; the use of the terms flora and fauna is un-biological (i, p. 69); Orignac (i, p. 98; ii, p. 158) is not an Indian but a Basque word; Arcadie (ii, p. 214) is not an error for Acadie, for it is now known that Acadia is derived from the Larcadia of old maps and not from the Indian Acadie as so many books have it; the Souricoua (ii, p. 213) is not the Shediac, as Laverdière supposed, but a river of Nova Scotia, as Champlain's map of 1632 implies. But these are trifles, the very insignificance of which shows how excellent is the annotation of the work as a whole.

The illustrations consist of some six half-tone copies of cuts from Champlain, and a frontispiece map which pretends to be a reduced facsimile copy of Champlain's map of 1632. In reality, however, it is from a very badly drawn and incomplete copy of that map, so much reduced as to be mostly illegible, and altogether it is a disgrace to the book. It represents without doubt a publisher's vagary for which the editor should not be held responsible.

It is rarely that a book of this character designed for a general audience makes so auspicious an appearance, and comes so near to affording a model of what such a work should be.

W. F. GANONG

La Colonisation de la Nouvelle France, étude sur les origines de la nation canadienne française. Par M. Émile Salone. Paris : E. Guilmoto, 1906. Pp. 468.

This is one of the best books yet published on the origin of the French-Canadian nation, though " La France aux

Colonies," by M. Rameau, will ever remain the solid foundation on which all future works will rest. M. Salone renders homage to the scholarship of this author whom he recognizes as his guide and master, and whose inspiration he has fully caught. But M. Salone leaves far behind him the works of the others who have attempted the same task. M. Salone, already well known by scholarly articles on Canada in the " Grande Encyclopédie du xix^{e} siècle," is professor of history in the Lycée Condorcet at Paris. He is accordingly a professional historian, accustomed to examine documents, to extract all that they contain, and to form general views of a luminous character. Close to the original sources, M. Salone has drawn liberally from them, and his information is stripped of all useless details. He knows also how to pick out the striking phrase.

Regarding the work of the missionaries, the efforts of discoverers, the seventy years' battle for New France with the Iroquois and the English, not much remains untold. But of the history of the colony of Canada there was a part which had not yet been treated in a suitable manner, namely, the history of colonization. Ferland, Faillon, and Sulte devoted, indeed, interesting chapters to the settlements of the colonists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But Faillon stops at 1675, one-third of the way through the period. Ferland has given us only a sketch, and Sulte had no access to the archives of Paris. The history of colonization had to be developed from the general history. M. Rameau condensed into a single volume the whole history of the Acadians and Canadians from the beginnings to the middle of the nineteenth century, and owing to restrictions of space he left a great deal untouched.

The work of M. Salone is not confined to the history of the taking possession of the soil by the settlers and of their multiplication, but embraces the whole picture of the economic development of New France. In a very short preface he renders justice to his predecessors, and indicates the principal

sources from which he has drawn. Then he enters at once into his subject by describing in a masterly way the region of the St. Lawrence, the soil, the climate, the seasons, the routes from Old to New France, and those from New France across North America. In the second part he studies Champlain, the first attempts at settlement, the early " company " system. The third part is devoted to the " Compagnie des Cent Associés." We see the insufficiency of its programme of colonization, the weaknesses of its organization, and the carelessness of its administrators, who in order to keep the monopoly of trade concealed the resources of the country and turned away the serious settlers. We see also the beginning of settlement near Quebec, and how and why Montreal was founded. The author shows us the great power of the Jesuits at that time, and how the notice they attracted in France by their *Relations* drew many families to Canada.

Perhaps M. Salone ought to have used the unprinted material at Quebec more than he has done in order to give us a closer account of the settlers of that period. The lists which the " Compagnie des Cent Associés " was to send to the king of the persons sent to Canada have not been preserved, nor have the records of the Compagnie yet been found. So in order to reconstruct the settlement from 1622 to 1663 one must have recourse to the manuscripts preserved in Quebec and in some local monographs. Since M. Salone has neglected these, this part of his work lacks exactness. More favoured investigators will have to take up again this aspect of the subject. There were many more arrivals of colonists in Canada at this time than the documents indicate. M. Rameau, for example, has shown that there was at this period an exodus from Poitou to Canada, the immediate cause of which he could not understand. M. Salone coming after him does not try to explain this exodus. If he had pushed his investigations farther he would have seen that Richelieu, ex-Bishop of Luçon, helped this movement.

But the great attempt at colonization was made between 1663 and 1672 under the inspiration and guidance of the

Intendant Talon. And here M. Salone becomes himself again, the keen investigator whom nothing escapes. No other author has explained so clearly by what methods the colonists were gathered, and the influences controlling them. The recruiting in France, the regions where it was carried on, the inspection on arrival in Canada, the measures taken for the allotment of land, for the acclimatizing of the new arrivals, for getting them married, all this is described with the pen of a master. M. Salone explains to us also, with the documents before him, the disbanding of the Carignan regiment, the settling of the military colonies, the management of the lands, the conduct of the seigniors. He knows well the topography of the region to be settled, and can explain the causes of the successive delays. This fourth part closes with two masterly chapters on the economic development of the colony at that period.

Unfortunately Talon had no successor. With his departure immigration slackened, and soon the colony could count only upon the excess of births for increase in numbers. The seigniors were too poor to develop their estates, and they became office-seekers. Another hindrance to colonization was the passion for trading with the Indians, which caused the exodus of the *coureurs de bois*. Yet in spite of this, the tenants who were willing to live an orderly life on their land were better off than the adventurers attracted by the free life of the woods, who spent ruthlessly in a day what had cost vast labour to earn. And the Canadian *habitant* of that time was also better off than the French peasant. M. Salone recognizes this. How indeed could it be denied in the face of the gloomy picture which La Bruyère paints of the peasant of his time, and after the revelations of M. Taine in his "Origines de la France contemporaine"?

The author leads us thus through a thousand paths which he illuminates until he arrives at the Treaty of Utrecht. The sixth part deals with the economic development of Canada from 1713 to 1754—up to the Seven Years' War. A striking picture is given of the relations between the Church

and the State in the colony. By this time the movements which caused immigration had disappeared. One hardly finds record of the arrival year by year of more than a few isolated colonists. At the opening of the war that is to decide the fate of the colony M. Salone pauses and describes in touching words that French-Canadian nation which he has followed from its birth through its career of difficult and often painful growth. His book will stir in the minds of the French of Quebec a proper pride, in the realization of the fact that their origin was pure, that Canada was not a colony of convicts. They can walk with head erect in the land which was opened to civilization by their ancestors and which they are now busy in developing in peace and in harmony with their fellow-citizens of other races, whom they may well equal in labour, courage and devotion to the British Crown.

M. Benjamin Sulte's brief paper on the *Origin of the French Canadians** is valuable. The earlier French visitors to Canada were from Brittany but these were quite unsuited to the climate, and for the most part died off as a result of their own incapacity or returned to France. The few Normans among them alone survived and merged with the later immigrants. M. Sulte gives the name and place of origin of every head of a family who arrived in Canada between 1608 and 1645. They number only 127 and they are prevailingly of Norman origin. Later there was a movement to Canada from Paris and La Rochelle. In 1673 the King stopped emigration to Canada which was henceforth trifling. After this, war killed off the equivalent of the increase by immigration. In 1681 the population was 9,700. "Double this figure every thirty years and we have the present French population of the provinces of Quebec and Ontario and of the groups established now in the United States" (p. 114). The net result of M. Sulte's conclusion is that four-fifths of the French in

**Origin of the French Canadians.* By Benjamin Sulte. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 2nd series, vol. xi, sect.ii, pp. 99-119.)

Canada are of Norman and Saxon, and therefore of Teutonic, origin. Norman accent and forms of speech still prevail in Canada. He brings out the curious fact that as late as 1667 the so-called census shows that the horse had not yet been introduced into Canada. His paper is well worth careful study.

The title *French Blood in America** would suggest a book including the French in Canada, but "America" really means here the United States. There is one short chapter on "The Huguenot Colony in Canada." It is a sketch of the history of the Protestants who joined De Monts' colony at Port Royal and also of those who followed Champlain to Quebec. But the chapter, written with strong Protestant bias, contains nothing new.

The Seigniorial System in Canada. A Study in French Colonial Policy. By William Bennett Munro. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1907. Pp. xiv, 296.

In this admirable work Dr. Munro presents us with a mature and scholarly account of the seigniorial system from the earliest times till its abolition in 1854. His book is based on a thorough study of the best documents, and he has handled his materials with great skill and judgment. The book bears on every page the marks of loving and laborious study. From beginning to end it is a sound and solid piece of historical research. Moreover the information is given with so much ease and lucidity that the book can be read with pleasure as well as profit by anybody who takes an intelligent interest in the history of Canada. It does not fall into that large class of works of research which we are glad to have on our shelves for reference but which are so dreary that we never turn to them without a sinking of the heart. This is emphatically a book to be read, and we recommend it with confidence

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**The French Blood in America.* By Lucian J. Fosdick. Toronto : F. H. Revell Co. [1906]. Pp. 448.

to the lawyer and the politician as well as to professed students of history.

It commences with a chapter entitled "The European Background," which gives a sketch of feudalism in France, and explains how the *Coutume de Paris* came to be the law of Canada. The author says that this Custom is "distinguished chiefly by its thoroughly native spirit : there is in it little of Roman, and still less of canon law." But it would be well to explain that this is mainly because the Custom of Paris like the other *Coutumes* does not give the general law of obligations nor the law of the special contracts. All this, which forms the very heart of every legal system, was left to be governed by the Roman law. Dr. Munro makes an interesting suggestion, that since a large proportion of the colonists were Normans and familiar with the *Coutume de Normandie* it might have been better to have introduced this Custom into Canada rather than the Custom of Paris. He hardly renders it sufficiently clear that the choice of the Custom of Paris from the bewildering number of the French *Coutumes* was no arbitrary selection. The Custom of Paris had long enjoyed in France a sort of primacy among the *Coutumes*. Du Moulin calls it *caput omnium hujus regni et totius etiam Belgicae consuetudinum*, and in the seventeenth century it was in a sense the common law of France. To have introduced any other Custom as the law of a French colony would have been as unprecedented as it would have been to make the Scots law apply in a British colony because a large part of the colonists came from north of the Tweed. In subsequent chapters the author analyses with great care the grants of seigniories in Canada, and explains fully the obligations of the seignior to the Crown and those of the vassal, or, as he preferred to call himself, the *habitant* to the seignior. He discusses with excellent judgment and ample citation of authority the *cens et rentes*, the *lods et ventes*, the rights of banality, the *corvée*, the feudal courts of justice, the seigniorial *noblesse*, and the relations between the seigniorial system and the

Church. This brings him to the cession of Canada to Britain in 1763, which may be said to mark the beginning of the decline and fall of the system. The work ends with a clear account of the agitation which led to its abolition and of the Seigniorial Tenures Abolition Act of 1854. The bibliographical appendix, alphabetical list of printed materials and full index add greatly to the value of the work. To the list of French books on feudalism which Dr. Munro cites might well be added the elaborate work of M. E. Glasson, *Histoire du Droit et des Institutions de la France*, of which vol. 4 is devoted to *La Féodalité* and contains a valuable bibliography, and the work of M. Henri Beaune on *La Condition des Biens* in his *Droit Coutumier Français*.

If Dr. Munro's book has the good fortune to reach a second edition, which it well deserves, it might be useful to add a paragraph explaining the tangled history of the grants of land in free and common socage made in the Eastern Townships. The provision of the Quebec Act that "nothing in this Act shall extend to lands in free and common socage" caused great doubts as to whether the English law or the French applied to rights of succession, dower, etc., in these lands. Later legislation made confusion worse confounded as may be seen in the case of Wilcox *v.* Wilcox. The difficulty was not removed till the Act of the Province of Canada of 1857 (20 Vict. c. 45). This Act provides that the law governing free and common socage lands shall be the law of *franc alleu roturier*. These lands may however still be conveyed or mortgaged in English form.

The late Mr. Justice Würtele of the Court of King's Bench in Quebec was fond of telling that he was the last seignior to perform at the Castle of St. Louis in Quebec the ancient and picturesque little ceremony of rendering on bended knee fealty and homage to the representative of his liege lady the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland. There is something romantic in the thought that the form of investiture which Mr. Würtele went through in 1854 runs back in all likelihood

at least as far as the eighth century and is probably derived from the "recommendations" in the declining days of the Merwing kings. There the vassal, if we may call him so, with joined hands promised to render faithful service to his patron and the patron gave him a pledge, or invested him by the *festuca* in an estate of land (*vide* Pertz, *Scriptores*, ii, 512). It is one of the surprises of history that an institution so venerable, so penetrated with historical associations, so outworn as was feudalism in France in the seventeenth century, should have been transplanted to the virgin soil of Canada and should for more than two centuries have grown and flourished in the new world. Yet if we consider the essence of the thing it was in no way unnatural. Feudalism sprang up in Europe at a time when at any moment the farmer must be ready to take the field in defence of his home against savage and treacherous invaders, when it was of prime importance to have in every community a leader to organize the little fighting force, and when large tracts of land were uncultivated or had been allowed to run waste. The vassal had little or no money and could pay only a nominal rent. The lord looked for a faithful man-at-arms and expected to be repaid for his protection, and for the use of the land, in military service and in other duties, rather than in money.

We are too much inclined to think only of the feudal system in the time of its decay. Created in a warlike age when the central power was weak, and every man's hand was against his neighbour, it was ill suited to a time when the king had become an all-powerful sovereign. The seignior, instead of staying on his lands, the captain and protector of his people, became in too many cases an absentee landlord spending in profligate extravagance at the king's court the rents wrung by a bailiff from an impoverished tenantry. Vague duties of honour and respect, and services which in a simpler age had been in no way oppressive, had been turned into the marks of an odious tyranny. In Canada we see as it were a return to primitive feudalism. The seignior is again dwelling among

his people as their natural leader and protector. And it is quite arguable that in the early days when the Indians were continually on the war path no better system could have been devised for the protection of the infant colony.

In the first period of its existence on this continent feudalism flourished because it was well adapted to the environment. Its decline began with the cession of the country to Britain. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that this was due in no small measure to the fact that many seigniories passed into English hands. The old happy and patriarchal relation was broken. A seignior of the old régime, whose family had been there for generations, who knew every man, woman and child on the domain, and would talk with them in their cherished language, who was the friend of the curé and the main supporter of the Church in his parish, had a hold on the affection of the *habitants* which no new-comer could expect. But a new-comer who was English, who knew no French, who was a Protestant, how was he to fit into the old scheme ? And, moreover, without accepting unreservedly General Murray's statement that the new English arrivals were "the most immoral collection of men he had ever known," there is other evidence that by no means all of them were the finest flowers of Anglo-Saxon civilization.

Thus it came about that the conquest gave a rude shock to feudalism in Canada. Of course other causes combined to bring about its downfall. Such a society as is described in De Gaspé's *Les Anciens Canadiens* was too patriarchal to stand the shock of new ideas, though slowly enough new ideas came to Canada. Long before 1854 the seigniorial system had become thoroughly unpopular. The Commissioners who reported on it in 1843 said, "It is no longer suited to the spirit of the age nor the actual wants of the population; it is the relic of a barbarous age, and in its practical operations, antagonist [*sic*] to the growth and permanency of free institutions." Some of the animosity to it was perhaps sentimental, but the fall of the system was largely due to want of moder-

ation on the part of the seignior. The feudal rents, the *cens et rentes* were not excessive, frequently not more than "twenty sous or one fat capon" for a superficial *arpent* (five-sixths of an English acre). That such rents were no great burden is shown by the fact that although now commutable they have in comparatively few cases been commuted. But there was much anxiety lest the effect of the Imperial statutes of 1822 and 1825 (3 Geo. iv, c. 119, and 6 Geo. iv, c. 59) would be that the seigniors should become absolute owners of their ungranted lands and able to refuse to sell them except upon exorbitant terms. The *corvée* or compulsory labour had come to be regarded as a badge of servitude. The *lods et ventes* or mutation fine of one-twelfth of the price, payable to the seignior on every sale or transfer equivalent to sale, no doubt considerably hampered the free disposition of property. Incidentally it also injured public morals as it led to many fraudulent and collusive transactions in order to cheat the seignior out of a right which had come to be held in odium (*vide* Report, p. 227). As to the banality, which in Canada meant practically the obligation to grind at the seigniorial mill, it is probable that in the earlier period this was greatly to the advantage of the *censitaires*, and doubtful if at any time it became a serious burden.

Nor did the rights of the seignior to the most honourable pew in the church or his claims to deference and respect, reminding one of the *obsequium* which the Roman freedman owed to his patron, constitute a serious grievance. Mr. De Boucherville in his answer to the questions asked by the Commissioners says frankly, "As to the rights of honour I reckon them at O" (Rep. p. 85). As her intendant said to the Marquise de Rambouillet "Après tout où est-ce que l'on tiendra son rang, si on ne le tient dans l'église!" Much more serious however were the reservations made by many seigniors in their grants. Such restrictions, common enough, as that no mill or manufactory of any kind was to be erected on the lands, were a grave hindrance to the progress of the

country, and probably accounted for much of the resentment which culminated in the abolition of the whole system. It may be observed that these reservations were in no way essential to the system. If the seigniors had got a bill passed prohibiting these reservations, abolishing the *corvée* and enacting that ungranted lands must be granted to proper applicants at a fixed low rate, they would have taken the wind out of the sails of the agitators for abolition. It is interesting to notice that in Scotland the feudal tenure stripped of its abuses still holds the field. Even the duty of going to the banal mill or of paying a fine for not going—known in Scotland by the name of "thirlage"—still lingers on in a few places, though the institution is far advanced in decay (*vide* an article in the Juridical Review for 1905, vol. 15, p. 64). The author cites a characterization by Bouchette of the French-Canadians which is too good to omit. He says they exhibit "beaucoup de chaleur dans la discussion des intérêts privés, et de calme dans celle des intérêts publics." We are delighted to see that Dr. Munro has arranged to put the cope-stone on his excellent work by the publication for the Champlain Society of Canada of a volume of documents relating to the seigniorial régime.

F. P. WALTON

Professor W. B. Munro's study of *The Office of Intendant in New France** is most valuable. On the basis of adequate research, associated with his admirable study of feudalism in Canada, he says practically all that is to be said on the origin and character of the Intendant's office and the place it occupies in the old régime in Canada. Some misapprehensions Mr. Munro exposes. The office was not created by Richelieu but was well developed before his time. Because the last Intendant Bigot was a scoundrel, it has been too readily assumed that all the Intendants were dishonest. Mr. Munro gives a complete list of the dozen Intendants, probably the

**The Office of Intendant in New France.* By W. B. Munro. (The American Historical Review, October, 1906, pp. 15-38.)

first accurate one to be compiled, and he thinks that all were competent while only one is proved a rascal. They were invariably Frenchmen who had already been tested in office at home. Their pay was wretched, but, on the whole, they seem to have set for themselves a high standard of duty. The article includes a lucid account of the work of the Intendants under the chief divisions of justice, police, and finance. To them fell the task of trying to bring settlers to the country—a difficult one in face of the French reluctance to emigrate—and to them was due the comparatively smooth working in Canada of the French feudal institutions, which broke down under the English. Within a few pages Mr. Munro has included matter of great value to the student of Canadian constitutional history.

Professor Firth, of Oxford, aided by Mr. T. C. Lomas, has prepared a careful list of the ambassadors representing England and France between 1603 and 1688 in negotiations affecting the two countries.* The pamphlet will be of service to those wishing to see in whose hands were the extensive negotiations about affairs in North America which took place during the period.

Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVIIIème siècle, d'après des documents inédits. Par le P. Camille de Rochemonteix. Paris : Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1906. 2 vols. Pp. viii, 468; 304.

This work impatiently awaited by all who had read "Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVIII^e siècle" by the same author (1897) has not disappointed our expectations. It will be unreservedly admired by some and sharply criticized by others. In French Canada the two schools which arose in the early history of the colony have never ceased to exist.

**Notes on the Diplomatic Relations of England and France, 1603-1688. List of Ambassadors from England to France and from France to England.* Compiled by C. H. Firth and T. C. Lomas. Oxford : B. H. Blackwell, 1906. Pp. iv, 47.

Still there are the Jesuit and the anti-Jesuit parties. M. de Rochemonteix, it must be admitted, has a very lively pen and he likes to say something fresh. His strong desire to cleanse his order of all the dross that has become attached to it during the course of centuries forces him to leave no charge unchallenged. From whatever direction it may come he notes it, weighs and analyses it, and hurls it back with the vigour of a militant warrior. The estimate of the book "Les Sulpiciens et les Prêtres des Missions Étrangères," by the Abbé Casgrain, which M. de Rochemonteix gives as an appendix to his first volume (p. 414), should be read as a specimen of his style of polemics. The Abbé Casgrain had been severe on Father de Rochemonteix on account of the mission of Pentagoet. A writer in the *Revue Canadienne* for 1898, under the assumed name of Jean Lefranc, took up the defence of our author, but he evidently considered that it would be better to defend himself than to leave that duty to others, and we must in fairness admit that he is equal to the task. He exposes the Abbé Casgrain's way of writing history. He points out his suppressions and mutilated quotations. We had already from the book of M. Kerallain ("La Jeunesse de Bougainville") some knowledge of the fact that what the Abbé Casgrain says needs to be very carefully scrutinized. But the latest revelations of M. de Rochemonteix leave Casgrain with hardly a shred of his reputation. There are Canadian historians such as Garneau and Ferland who, like good wine, improve with time. Not of these is the Abbé Casgrain. He is hardly buried, and already the black stones are heaping up around the monument which he charged the Abbé Camille Roy to raise in his honour.

In his third volume on the history of the 17th century M. de Rochemonteix had encroached a little on the 18th century. He had told, for example, of the death of Father Rasles which happened in 1724. The necessity for not leaving the description of some events unfinished had carried him beyond the limits fixed by the title of the work. These two

additional volumes are the natural continuation of the first three and bring the history of the Jesuits in New France down to the suppression of the order by Pope Clement XIV. Others will doubtless tell the story, when the right time comes, of the restoration and the works of the society in the 19th century in Canada.

The present work opens with the treaty of peace concluded with all the Indians at Montreal in 1701, by Callières, but which was really the triumph and apotheosis of Frontenac who had just passed away ; it closes with the death of Father Casot in 1800, the last survivor of the Jesuits of New France. So the complete work embraces the governments of Callières, of the two Vaudreuils, of Beauharnois, of La Galissonnière, of La Jonquière and of the first forty years of the English régime.

Humbled by Frontenac, held in check by the Récollets, the Sulpicians and the fathers of the *Séminaire des Missions Étrangères*, the Jesuits did not play in Canada during the 18th century the conspicuous rôle which they did at the beginning of the colony. Alongside the heroic names of Brébeuf, Lallemant and Jogues they can place as leaders only second-rate men. In the administration of the parishes of the colony the secular clergy, organized under the strong hand of a bishop, vicars-general, or canons, forced them to withdraw to the distant missions of the west and north. And since the *Relations* which they had been accustomed to publish had been suppressed after 1672 by the royal authority, their writings were less brilliant and less known until recently, when editors like Douniol, Martin and Thwaites have brought them to light. We should say also that in the 18th century the missions in China were much more attractive to the Jesuits than those of Canada. They sent to Canada novices taken from professors' chairs to become missionaries. Still it must not be forgotten that during the senility of Louis XIV the Jesuits of France still exercised a great influence over his spouse Mme. de Maintenon through Père La Chaise. At Quebec their interference was felt par-

ticularly under the administration of the two Vaudreuils and the government employed them still as agents with the Indian tribes.

So the history of the Jesuits now presented to us by M. de Rochemonteix is intimately connected with that of the colony. Political and military events are developed in harmony with ecclesiastical, and the author does not lack unpublished documents which sometimes cast a new light on subjects already pretty well known. Discussing the settlement of Detroit and the movements of Lamothe-Cadillac, Father de Rochemonteix makes some severe criticisms on that so-called persecutor of the order. The 3rd chapter, devoted to the journeys and discoveries of La Vérendrye in the west, also offers an opportunity to the author to throw into relief the actions of some of the Jesuits of the time. Yet it is regrettable that he does not insist more on the career and the historic work of the zealous Jesuit Charlevoix. The settlement of Louisiana gave a new field of action to the Jesuits when that of Canada was slipping away from them. The last two chapters (iv and v) of the first volume are devoted to this new colony and to the part played there by the priests. There are some interesting pages on the struggle between them and the Capuchins, a struggle which ended by their expulsion. All this is new, treated with much life and breadth, but always of course in a way to show the order in a good light. In effect it is the apologia of the Jesuits in America which M. de Rochemonteix is attempting.

When Louisbourg was founded, the Jesuits would have liked to thrust themselves into the settlement but were kept out by the Récollets, who on that occasion showed themselves as crafty as the Capuchins of New Orleans. Father de Rochemonteix in telling the story of the Récollets of Louisbourg does not spare us any of their mishaps, and he mingles with it scenes not of a nature to heighten the prestige of these Franciscans. The vigorous criticism measured out to the Récollets by M. Chapais in his *Intendant Talon* is thus renewed by

an ecclesiastical hand, a gloved hand if you will, but one in which the rugged vigour of a doughty champion is manifest.

The first chapter of the second volume affords a more evangelical spectacle. In it M. de Rochemonteix tells the story of the missionary enterprises on the Saguenay of Fathers Laure, Maurice and Coquart, of those of Lauverjeat and Danielou among the Abenaquis, of those at Michillimackinac and at Detroit by Chardon, La Richardie and Pottier. In it he also treats of the organized villages of Lorette, of the Lake of Two Mountains, and of the Sault-Saint-Louis. The three following chapters bring us to the Seven Years' War and the end of French rule in Canada. In this interesting narrative the episode of the founding of Ogdensburg by the Jesuit astronomer Bonnécamps is specially noteworthy.

The tenth and last chapter depicts the condition of the Canadian clergy after the conquest, the fate which befell the monastic communities, the efforts of Father Glapion with the Earl of Shelburne to save the remnants of the order in Canada, the closing of the college at Quebec, the confiscation of the property of the society, and finally the heroic missions of La Brosse on the Saguenay and in the region of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. It was the swan-song of the order. Crushed by the weight of the failure of Père de Lavalette, undermined by the Marquis de Pombal, Choiseul, Mme. de Pompadour and the Encyclopaedists, it was almost at its last gasp when Pope Clement XIV by his brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* gave it the *coup de grâce*. In Canada an attempt was made to soften the heart of the government ; an English-speaking Jesuit was sent out to cover up the weakness of the last member of the order, Père Casot, who had been a janitor but had been made a priest in order to perpetuate for a longer time the dying company, but nothing came of it. The fate of that society which had been so illustrious was sealed with the stone covering the tomb into which Father Casot was put on March 18th, 1800. And to complete its misfortunes the society which opened its Canadian martyrology with glorious

names like those of Lallemant, Bressani and Jogues closed its two centuries of evangelical activity with Père Roubaud, an unfrocked priest, who after having sold his pen to whoever would buy it, died in poverty in a hospital worn out by a life of low dissipation in London.

"Après avoir fait servir les Jésuites au soutien et à l'expansion de son église, la Providence les jette dans le creuset de l'épreuve où ils expient leurs fautes et s'épurent ; puis, à l'heure marquée par sa miséricorde, elle les montre encore au monde dans tout l'éclat de leur nouvelle vie et de leur puissance surnaturelle."

Here we see that though the author may lament the frequent and often perhaps undeserved blows dealt at his order, he is in no sense dismayed. In spite of past failure he is full of confidence, with his eye towards the future and its coming triumphs. It is the lofty and proud attitude of that statue of Ignatius Loyola which one sees in the church of *Gesu* at Rome with his foot on the serpent of error.

Mr. J. Edmond Roy reprints from *La Nouvelle France* his excellent sketch of Montmagny, the second governor of Canada.* M. Roy has himself carried on researches at Paris but he found a complete lack of new material relating to Montmagny and his narrative is based chiefly upon the Jesuit records. It is a curious fact that Montmagny was appointed governor in January, 1636, before the death of Champlain, which occurred on December 25th, 1635, was known in France. This means, of course, that Champlain was to be superseded in office—a poor reward for his many years of labour. For some fourteen years Montmagny governed the infant colony. Parkman has described him as a monk in spirit, the slave of the Jesuits. This view M. Roy combats, and he retorts on Parkman that he was incapable of understanding the spirit of the Catholic leaders in New France, whose devotion he always treats with a certain mockery. Montmagny was apparently a model of propriety, but his biographer claims that he knew and asserted the rights of the civil power and opposed

M. de Montmagny. Par J. Edmond Roy. Québec : Compagnie de "L'Evènement," 1906. Pp. 54.

the ambitious Jesuit plan to make Canada a second Paraguay. He had tact in dealing with the Indians, who gave him the title of "Ononthio," which means "the great mountain," a play apparently on the word Montmagny. M. Roy's sketch is scholarly and convincing.

François de Montmorency-Laval. Par l'Abbé Auguste Gosselin. Nouvelle Édition. Québec : Dussault et Proulx, 1906. Pp. xii, 452.

Bishop Laval. By A. Leblond de Brumath. Toronto : Morang & Co., 1906. Pp. 284. (The Makers of Canada.)

M. Gosselin's excellent work is timely in its present revised form. The 6th of May, 1908, will be the 200th anniversary of the great Bishop's death ; and a suitable celebration is to mark the erection of a monument in the city which he served so long and loved so well. Abbé Gosselin writes of Laval as of a hero *in esse* and a saint *in posse.* Yet he is a careful historian, and speaks with the authority of one who has studied original sources and who has inside knowledge of the spirit of his subject. He writes with admirable lucidity, and draws the reader on with ever increasing interest from the first page to the last. Perhaps he might have made his subject a little clearer to the general reader by a few judicious summaries and an explanation, here and there, of some questions which are 'caviare to the general.' But, on the other hand, his work is, in many respects, all the more valuable because it is so evidently written without one self-conscious thought of how it might appear to an outside public. He looks at life with the inward eye of a special faith and from a special French-Canadian point of view. But his horizon is wide enough to give his subject its due setting in its own time and place and circumstances. And we strongly recommend this book to every one who wishes to know who Laval was, what were his aims, ideals and achievements, and why so many French-Canadians in the twentieth century are bent on doing such

signal honour to a man whose great work was accomplished in the seventeenth.

Laval has three good titles to commemoration. He was saint-like in his private life, he was the organizer of his Church in Canada, and he was the faithful and fearless apostle and guardian of the Indians. His one conspicuous fault was, and still is, open to many degrees of attenuation or exaggeration, according to varying controversial points of view : it was the over-stretching of the arm of the Church in temporal affairs.

Laval was born in 1623, of noble lineage on both sides. His mother, two of whose brothers were bishops, lived to see him raised to the same office ; while another son became a prior and her only daughter a mother superior. The atmosphere in which Laval grew up was thus distinctly clerical. He spent ten years under the Jesuits at the famous college of La Flèche, where there were three hundred boarders drawn from the élite of the French nobility. Descartes' tribute is well known—"J'ai passé à La Flèche huit ou neuf ans de suite dans ma jeunesse ; et c'est là que j'ai reçu les premières semences de tout ce que j'ai jamais appris." At eighteen Laval went to spend four years at the theological college of Clermont, in Paris. He thus had an education which clerical nobles then considered the best in the world. In 1642 his father died. Two years later his eldest brother fell at the battle of Fribourg, under Condé ; and the next year, again, the second brother was also killed in action. Laval was now twenty-two and head of his family. Even his uncle, the Bishop of Evreux, wished him to live as a seigneur. But nothing could turn him from the priesthood. In 1657, in his thirty-fifth year, his old friends the Jesuits strongly recommended him for the first bishopric in Canada.

"Heureux si nous mourions pour la cause de Dieu." This occurs in one of his first letters from Canada to the Pope. And they were no empty words. Whether tending the sick, braving hardships, facing what he believed to be the call

of duty at every desperate turn, giving away all his worldly goods, or even acting as porter to the first comers at his Seminary in the early morning, he did all to the glory of God, down to the moment when he breathed his last, after fifty years of Canadian service, just as the attendant priest recited the words : *Ut a te secundum cor tuum inveniri mereamur.* No wonder that the little children of that time, pressing forward to see the lying-in-state, constantly repeated : *laissez-nous donc voir le saint !* Colbert, not a very friendly critic as a rule, wrote on the 15th of May, 1669 : "cette colonie n'a de vie que depuis le temps que vous vous êtes dévoué pour elle." As an organizer of a new branch of his Church Laval aimed steadily at missionary extension centred in the Seminary, which was under his personal control. This was violently opposed by the governors of New France, who much preferred parish priests with individual fixity of tenure. However, Laval's theocratic system worked best under the peculiar conditions of that early age of settlement. Even in 1730 Dosquet found that the royal edict of 1679, in favour of fixed cures, had made little headway against the natural stress of circumstances, which favoured a flexible missionary service directed from episcopal headquarters.

Opinions will always differ about Laval's assumption of power in temporal matters. Certain claims of general intervention are inadmissible ; and he occasionally stretched his authority to the breaking point. However, both he and the governors were partly the victims of being under an autocracy without an autocrat on the spot. Clashing spheres of influence are inevitable evils of such a system. But the reader will find the study of his steadfast championship of the Indians quite as profitable and much more pleasant. Year after year, under every kind of discouragement, and in the face of every kind of bitter opposition, he fought the good fight against the brandy-sellers whose nefarious trade was debauching and ruining the Indians. The problem, of course, was not at all the same as the temperance one at the present day. Strong

drink simply intensified every Indian vice, excluded every Christian virtue, and made the unfortunate natives the easy prey of every dishonest trader in every bargain. And it is to the lasting credit of Laval that the prohibition of the Indian brandy-trade was at length re-established. The famous Peace of Montreal with the Iroquois in 1701 was only one of the many good consequences of this righteous act.

Abbé Gosselin's book is a good account of a great life, and we again commend it to our readers. But we must regret the absence of an index and a classified bibliography of original documents.

The amiable life of Laval by M. de Brumath sets up no claim whatever to original research, but is frankly based on secondary authorities. It is very much shorter than Abbé Gosselin's book, yet it contains a great deal more about the general history of the times. It has the advantage of an index. Readers who wish to gather some knowledge of Laval in English will find this account of his career run as easily as the columns of their daily paper.

WILLIAM WOOD

Count Frontenac. By W. D. Lesueur. Toronto : Morang & Co., 1906. Pp. xii, 382. (The Makers of Canada.)

The author of this work announces in a short preface that it is intended more particularly for Canadians. In all modesty and good faith he acknowledges that he has made considerable use of the labours of his predecessors the late Mr. Parkman and M. Henri Lorin ; but this has not prevented him from consulting the original authorities. Yet his book is more or less a compilation in which one must not look for too much erudition. As such it is pleasant reading. Paper and binding are good, as always in this series. There is an index of proper names. It is a pity that the Table of Contents merely reproduces the headings of the chapters, whereas a summary of the principal matters contained in each would have proved a welcome addition. A work of this sort should

also be provided with a map, giving at least the more important places mentioned in the text, especially as the book is intended for the general public.

Mr. Lesueur gives first of all a *résumé* in two chapters of the history of Canada before the arrival of Frontenac (1672). He begins rightly enough with the foundation of Quebec by Champlain in 1608, and the first period is brought to a close with the restitution of Canada to France in 1632 after its conquest by the Kirkes (1629). In Chapter II we have an account of Champlain's death (1635), of the curious crusade of M. de Maisonneuve the founder of Montreal (1641), as well as of the establishment in Canada at that time of several convents. Canada, it is true, was then little more than a land for missionaries. Although the *Relations* of the Jesuits were written in good faith, "New France" could not develop into a Paraguay, in which country the Jesuits were then increasing their celebrated "Réductions." Since the native population by itself was incapable, even when guided by the missionaries, of exploiting to the full the riches of the soil, European immigrants had to be attracted to Canada. Face to face with the organized power represented by the Jesuits stood first the Company of One Hundred Associates given up entirely to trade, and, secondly, the royal authority represented by underpaid governors, who were often changed. These two forces were not sufficient to give to the country an independent development untrammelled by the preponderance of the missionaries.

In his rapid review of the early history, Mr. Lesueur might perhaps have brought out this point more clearly, since from it arose most of the difficulties against which Count Frontenac had later to contend. He passes likewise too rapidly over the arrival of the Carignan-Salières regiment, those sturdy soldiers, the real ancestors of the French-Canadians, who were the companions of Frontenac, and with whom he always got on well, especially when it was a question of war or of a distant expedition, however unruly they at other

times proved. On the other hand Mr. Lesueur rightly gives a place of honour to the Intendant Talon, an administrator after Colbert's own heart, who encouraged immigration and marriages, sent cargoes of Canadian fish and wood to the West Indies, sought to introduce several industries at Quebec and, while a good Catholic and a good servant of the State, was not inclined to leave all power in the hands of the missionaries, who speak of him with no feeling of sympathy. A divergence of views had shown itself already between the champions of two clearly distinct conceptions of the needs and of the future of Canada. Frontenac, who represented so vigorously what one may call the "state" conception, struggled unceasingly against his adversaries, but was of opinion that this was not all a governor had to do. And without doubt French Canada of to-day, in which religion stands apart from politics but retains to the full its authority over the conscience, is nearer the conception held by Frontenac than it is to that held by the early missionaries.

These two chapters alone justify the main criticism which must be made of Mr. Lesueur's book. Should it not have been the aim of an author writing for Canadians on a well known subject of this kind to bring out in the course of his narrative the main characteristics of what, in course of time, has become the national tradition of French Canada ? Such, however, has not been the purpose of our author. He has endeavoured not so much to write a new book as to condense into a short volume the labours of his predecessors. With regard, for example, to the explorations of Jolliet and La Salle towards the Mississippi, it would have been of interest to make clear the share of the Jesuits—whose *Relations* cease in that very year 1673—in these discoveries, to explain why one of them, Father Marquette, was attached to Jolliet, without Frontenac apparently being informed thereof, how the expeditions of La Salle appear to have been intended by the governor who favoured them to limit the domain exclusively reserved to the missions in the West. But to these matters

and others Mr. Lesueur barely makes a reference, nor does he think them of interest to his readers.

French Canada was certainly over-governed or rather over-administered. Its 6,000 inhabitants, scattered in small groups along the river St. Lawrence, required, above all, liberty of action. Yet every moment they were worried by the vexatious intermeddling of the central authority. Colbert had a passion, or rather let us say a mania, for legislating about everything. Under an old monarchy such practices might be useful and often beneficial, but they were quite unsuited to a new country offering no social or geographical analogy with the motherland. Why break up the authority after the model of a French province between a governor and an intendant ? Why not leave to one officer the responsible control of a distant colony which he surely understood better than the court bureaucrats ? Such division of power was especially a mistake in the case of Canada where it was well known that the civil authority was already at variance with its ecclesiastical rivals. Frontenac's official correspondence is full of the most trivial details relating to the quarrels about precedence with the Intendant, with the President of the Council and with the Bishop. We should have liked Mr. Lesueur to state more clearly how much of this was due to Frontenac's suspicious character, how much to the pliant obstruction of his adversaries, and how much finally to the institutions themselves.

We should also have liked more details in regard to the discussion carried on between the Governor, the Jesuits and the Récollets on the subject of the curacies and the tithes. How was the religious service supported ? Were the religious orders as popular among the people then as they have become since the conquest, at which critical period they formed the central pivot of the national resistance ? On the contrary we see them often and easily disunited. The Jesuits wished to be the red man's missionaries and the only middlemen between him and the French. The Récollets were more inclined to

seek the support of the civil authority, while the Sulpicians offered the model of a life less concerned with temporal affairs. We hasten to state that the personal devotion, the dignity of life, the disinterestedness even of these various religious orders seem to us indisputable ; but it remains to be seen, and this is what an examination of Canada's resources in the seventeenth century should have shown, whether it was possible and also desirable to set up watertight compartments between the Europeans and the natives, and whether in the end the truth of the political conception, as Canada presents it to our eyes in the twentieth century, was not on the side of Frontenac.

What after all was the actual result of the missionaries' labours among the savages ? Most writers are agreed, says Mr. Lesueur, that it is extremely difficult to bring to the mind of these Indians the truths of Christianity, the eternal punishments of hell especially being repudiated by the savages who denied that the Master of Life could hate anyone. If then the achievements of the missionaries in the field of religion remained as we must suppose rather precarious, how did they gain the affection of the Indian, over whom, it is impossible to deny, their influence was considerable ? Was it by the fatherly kindness with which they looked after the sick ? By the frugal simplicity of their lives ? By the moderation of their desires which contrasted so strikingly with the liberties of the *coureurs de bois* ? Notwithstanding their patience, the Jesuits do not appear to have met in Canada as pliable a race as the Guaranis of Paraguay, so that even without the resistance of the civil power they would never have been able to set up ''Réductions'' like those of Parana. As early as the middle of the seventeenth century Mère Marie de l'Incarnation mentions in her letters that the native races of Canada were beginning to die out. Could the pious zeal of the missionaries check an ethnological phenomenon, over which Mr. Lesueur passes too rapidly, the *vanishing of the red man* ?

Two chapters (vii and viii) treat of the administrations of La Barre (1682-5) and Denonville (1685-9) which intervene between Count Frontenac's two periods of office (1672-82 and 1689-98). We shall only draw attention to the curious divergency of views in regard to Canada held by Governor Denonville and Mgr. Saint-Vallier, the second bishop of Quebec. To the latter on his arrival the inhabitants appeared to be as religious as the clergy were saintly. Is was like being transported back to the early days of Christianity. According to the Governor on the other hand licentiousness was general. The *coureurs de bois* debauched the farmers who ceased to till the soil. On every hand one met drunkards and scoundrels. Mr. Lesueur disputes this view and we are happy to be at one with him here. Denonville failed to bear in mind all the circumstances of the case. This brave officer, who does not appear to have been remarkable for intelligence, did not understand the lives of the Canadians who, if they did not follow the European model, by no means gave themselves up to every kind of excess. "In the vast spaces and free air of a new continent.....the Canadians of that period lived, on the whole, healthy lives, and were planting a hardy and enduring race on the soil they had made their own." Here Mr. Lesueur speaks as a Canadian and speaks well, without in any way maligning the truth of history. Why have we not heard this voice oftener ?

In regard to the second period of Frontenac's rule, our author reports little beyond the military achievements : how the Governor inspired the colony with fresh courage, silenced the Iroquois who had grown bold through Denonville's weakness, sent scouting parties through the frontier districts of New England and finally made preparations for the defence of the colony and for the safety of Quebec against the naval expedition of Admiral Phipps of Boston. Such is a summary of chapters ix and x. War is also the main theme of the last two chapters of the work which bring the reader to Frontenac's death (November 28, 1698). Allusions are made

incidentally to the Governor's disputes with the Intendant Champigny as well as to the famous Quebec theatre, where Frontenac's enemies declared he wished to have *Tartuffe* performed. But of the daily round of life in Canada at the close of the seventeenth century nothing is said. The struggle with the enemy, Iroquois or English, certainly silenced the ordinary rivalries and one cannot blame those who conducted such hard campaigns for having made an effort at times to enliven the intervals between them ; but all Canada was not then at Quebec, any more than all France was at Versailles. Does not Mr. Lesueur write history a little too much like the historians of the French king ? I know that the title of the series, *The Makers of Canada*, invites him to pay more attention to Frontenac than to his surroundings. Yet even Frontenac's personality would have gained in being placed in its proper framework, since the work is meant to be a popular life and not a scientific biography. Mr. Lesueur praises, and here we join with him again, Mr. Ernest Myrand's memoirs on Canadian society in the time of Frontenac. He might perhaps have allowed himself to be a little more influenced by the spirit of this writer. For a new edition he will also receive help from the recent thesis of M. Émile Salone, *La Colonisation de la Nouvelle France*, which he was doubtless unable to consult,—especially from the three chapters of Part v, and from the last two of Part vi.

In conclusion, although it was not Mr. Lesueur's aim to throw fresh light on his hero, we are of opinion that he might have made his book more original had he dealt with him more from a Canadian point of view. Save for a few points of detail and excepting always the possible discovery of fresh documents one may say that the story of Frontenac's life is now known. What has yet to be written however is a work full of interest that might perhaps be entitled "Canada and Canadian Society in the Seventeenth Century."

HENRI LORIN

Miller's *New York*,* now printed in a sumptuous edition limited to 400 copies, is of interest to Canadian history chiefly because of the author's elaborate plan, drawn up in the days of Frontenac, for the English conquest of Canada. The author of the book, though he ended his days in England, served for a time as the only Anglican clergyman in New York and he was extremely anxious to see North America both English and Protestant. Since French "Canida" was a menace and a cause of great expense to New England, sound statesmanship required its conquest. To do this, he says, it is necessary first to get a competent general, secondly, to gather secretly an adequate force from England, the West Indies and the American colonies, and, thirdly, to make a sudden and unexpected descent upon Canada. Miller plans every detail. French clergymen in Anglican orders are to be taken out to reconcile the French inhabitants to Protestantism, Canada is to be placed under the Governor of New York, the priests and monks are to be sent to England, 300 or 400 Canadian families are to be deported to settle on vacant lands in New York, and the Canadians remaining in Canada are to become tenants, hewers of wood and drawers of water, to their new lords. Mr. Paltsits edits this singular manuscript with his usual minutely accurate scholarship.

Miss Laut has another of her vivid and picturesque sketches of French adventurers in Harper's Monthly Magazine.† This time her hero is Iberville and the scene of his exploits is Hudson Bay, where he made, perhaps, his chief fame in trying to drive the English from that region.

**New York Considered and Improved, 1695.* By John Miller. Published from the original manuscript in the British Museum. With Introduction and Notes by Victor Hugo Paltsits. Cleveland : The Burrows Brothers Company, 1903. Pp. 135.

†*Gamesters of the Wilderness.* By Agnes C. Laut. (Harper's Monthly Magazine, April, 1906, pp. 768-779).

Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites. Vol. xvii : *The French Régime in Wisconsin, ii, 1727-1748.* Madison, 1906. Pp. xx, 544.

The publication of Volume xviii of the series of the Collections of the Wisconsin Historical Society will, it is expected, complete the documentary history of the French régime in the region of the upper Great Lakes. Volume xvi carried it on from 1634 to 1727, and the volume under review continues it from 1727 to 1748. The documents "are for the most part transcripts made for the Society from the several French archives in Paris." In selecting them, the editor was obliged to rely upon the calendars prepared by Joseph Marmette and Édouard Richard and edited by the late Dr. Brymner in his Reports on Canadian Archives.

Supplementing these with other material, from the New York Colonial Documents and the Macalester College Contributions, as well as translations of a few documents published by Margry and by early Canadian periodicals, Dr. Thwaites considers that "the existing material for the region of the Northwest during the hundred and fifteen years included within Volumes xvi and xvii has now largely been exploited, as well as for the first time given to the public in connected form." At the same time he suggests that further research in the various archives relating to the Great Lakes and Louisiana may lead to the discovery of many other documents coming within the purview of this series.

The importance of these volumes does not require argument. The quality of paper, the size and clearness of type are noticeable features. The annotations are numerous ; and there is an excellent index.

The period embraced in Volume xvii begins with the year in which La Vérendrye was placed in charge of the Nipigon post, and closes a little more than a year before his death. The scope of the series excludes the achievements of this great explorer, whose name only comes in for incidental mention.

But La Vérendrye's success in establishing and maintaining his chain of posts in the far north-west, and his troubles in keeping the peace between the warring tribes of Sioux and Crees, were duplicated by French commandants nearer the Great Lakes. "The period herein treated," says the editor, "was that in which the French possessed the most complete control of western territory and dictated every step of policy for the fur-trade posts and their aboriginal allies."

The Indians were becoming more and more dependent on French traders both for food and clothing. The brandy-trade flourished. The savages were losing their independence. Their villages were being moved to cluster round trading-posts. To procure furs, they were obliged to exploit more and more distant regions. The rivalry of French and English traders was not without its effects on savage diplomacy. The Foxes, refusing to submit to French paternalism, began intriguing with some Sioux tribes on the west and the Iroquois on the east. How Fort Beauharnois was built upon lake Pepin to overawe the Sioux, how the Foxes evaded attack by the French and succeeded in expelling them from Wisconsin, how the other tribes were organized to attack and almost annihilate them, how the remnant allied themselves to the Sauks, and the latter, withdrawing to the west bank of the Mississippi, prevented the further exploitation of that region by the French, and compelled the abandonment of the post among the Sioux—these are among the matters treated in the documents under consideration. It was Sieur Marin who brought about peace between the three tribes mentioned. But the effects of the successful resistance of the Foxes and Sauks remained, and were seen in the subsequent troubles about Detroit and on the Miami, where French and English traders were coming into contact. The series "lays bare French paternalism both at its best and its worst." The centralized administration "secured certain military and governmental advantages ; on the other hand, the corruption and inefficiency of the officers, each throwing blame upon the

shoulders of others, the dependence upon distant orders, the lack of initiative, the timidity of military movements, show the paralysing effects of over-centralization. The savages became subservient, emasculated or sullen, reckless or rebellious.'' The energy of the governors-general saved the situation for a time. Beauharnois and La Galissonnière were not merely able but incorruptible. Then followed the era of Bigot and "la Friponne", and the colonial system broke down under the weight of official corruption. ''The posts of the Upper Country now proved a source of weakness rather than of strength, in the life and death struggle with the English for the dominion of North America.''

JAMES H. COYNE

Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de la Vérendrye, Capitaine des troupes de la Marine, Chevalier de l'Ordre Militaire de Saint Louis, Découvreur du Nord-Ouest, 1685-1749. Par le juge L. A. Prud'homme. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Second Series, Volume xi, section i, pp. 9-57.)

In the history of exploration the name of La Vérendrye will always occupy a conspicuous place. As the writer of this monograph justly observes : "This great discoverer was the Jacques Cartier of the Northwest. He was the first white man to sail the Red River or the Assiniboine, and awaken the slumbering echoes of those wild regions with the joyous refrains of our French-Canadian songs. With the sweet language of France, he gave the tribes he visited a knowledge of the faith, by attaching to his expeditions Jesuit missionaries, who sowed the first seeds of the gospel in that virgin soil."

Undoubtedly, La Vérendrye is entitled to rank with the great explorers. Through him an enormous tract of territory was added to the French dominions. Through him the Winnipeg, Red, Assiniboine, and upper Missouri rivers, together with Lakes Winnipeg, Winnipegosis and Manitoba, and the adjacent part of the Saskatchewan, were first really made

known to the world. To crown his achievements, it was under his orders that his sons, first of all white men, beheld the Rocky Mountains on New Year's day in the year 1743. Twelve days later they were climbing the foot-hills. At the time of his death he had formed his plans for crossing the mountains by way of the Saskatchewan, and extending his chain of posts to the western sea. Fortune smiled upon him. Again he basked in the favour of the court. But inexorable fate barred his way. The glory of being the first to cross the mountains to the Pacific Ocean was reserved to another race and another man. Nearly half a century was to pass before Alexander Mackenzie achieved what La Vérendrye had failed to accomplish.

Judge Prud'homme has arranged his material in an attractive manner. La Vérendrye was no ordinary *voyageur*. Of distinguished birth, with an honourable military record on both continents as an officer in the King's service, enjoying the favour and hospitality of the governors of New France before the day of the corrupt La Jonquière, devoting his life to one object, the discovery of the western sea, he stands conspicuous for greatness and nobility of character in an age when, both at Versailles and Quebec, corruption was rampant, if not almost universal. With a courage and perseverance superior to every obstacle, with a simple faith and a tenderness of affection, which sustained him in every hardship and privation, with a sound judgment and marvellous foresight in the location of trading-posts and selection of strategic points for occupation, he is continuously making demands upon our admiration and sympathy. The practical result of his life-work was that he diverted the trade of the west from the Hudson Bay route. Of his prophetic business ability there could be no better proof than the fact that, after the cession, the Northwest and Hudson's Bay Companies established posts near the ruins of his abandoned forts.

M. Prud'homme considers that La Vérendrye's chief obstacles were these : the mutual and ferocious hatred and

warfare of the Sioux and Crees ; the fact that the Indians had become used to Hudson Bay as their great mart for furs, and that it was hard to break them of the habit of descending to it ; and, thirdly, the embargo placed by Burnet, Governor of New York, in 1727, on exports to New France. French traders, accustomed to buy cheap goods at New York to exchange with the Indians for furs, were paralysed by the prohibition, and a commercial crisis ensued, much to the detriment of La Vérendrye. For he was obliged to depend upon the fur-trade to finance his successive expeditions. While he was following the vision and the gleam, his more prosaic partners and creditors were looking for profits on furs. When these were not forthcoming or not satisfactory, there were plenty of rival traders, his enemies, to insinuate that he was accumulating a fortune for himself. Creditors seized his furs and kept clerks and spies at his posts to watch him. Through all these troubles, his character shines out bright and clear, without a stain.

His chain of posts was necessary not merely for the purpose of facilitating trade. He had to overawe the natives and prevent, if possible, mutual hostilities. It was necessary to keep open his line of communication with the base of supplies, and he wished to confine the English to the margin of Hudson Bay and to assert the sovereignty of King Louis XV over the vast north-west. The sites of some of these posts present no great difficulty. Fort Rouge was of course in the angle where the south bank of the Assiniboine meets the Red river. Fort Fourche aux Roseaux was near the mouth of the latter stream. The position of Fort St. Charles on the Lake of the Woods has been identified by Judge Prud'homme and Archbishop Langevin by personal inspection. That of Fort La Reine presented some difficulty. Was it at Portage la Prairie or at the mouth of the Souris river ? M. Prud'homme decides in favour of the former, but explains that there was a subsidiary post at the latter point. The building of Fort La Reine rendered Fort Rouge and Fort Fourche

aux Roseaux unnecessary. They were used but for a very brief period.

The name Beaver river assigned to the Assiniboine on early maps is shown to be a mistake arising from insufficient knowledge. The Indians regarded the Assiniboine as the main river until its waters mingled with those of Lake Winnipeg. What is called the Red river was then considered the tributary, and its name was originally applied to the Assiniboine, which they called the Misqua (Red). This was erroneously understood by traders to be Amusqua (Beaver), which easily accounts for the blunder.

The writer ingeniously suggests that the younger La Vérendryes may have penetrated to or near Calgary on the Bow river, and that it was thence that they made their way to the foot-hills of the Rockies. The claim rests upon the name "Bow Indians," given to the tribe which the explorers accompanied to the mountains.

La Vérendrye's chain of posts had to be abandoned. The long conflict for the North American continent was drawing to a close. France was obliged to concentrate her strength on nearer frontier posts. Within ten years after La Vérendrye's death, the struggle virtually terminated on the Plains of Abraham. And thus it was that what he had left unperformed was achieved nearly half a century afterwards by a man of another race, Alexander Mackenzie.

JAMES H. COYNE

In an edition limited to 250 copies Mr. Paltsits reprints the story of the captivity in Canada of Nehemiah How, carried by Indians from Vermont to Quebec where he died in 1747.* How, like hundreds of others, was captured by the Indians of St. Francis, living near the junction of the river of that name with the St. Lawrence. Wonderful to relate,

A Narrative of the Captivity of Nehemiah How in 1745-47. Reprinted from the original edition of 1748, with introduction and notes by Victor Hugo Paltsits. Cleveland : The Burrows Brothers Co., 1904. Pp. 72. (Narratives of Captivities.)

he was kindly treated by his captors, who returned to Canada by way of Lake Champlain. (In 1759 Captain Rogers revenged the ravages on the New England frontier by his venturesome exploit in massacring the Indians at St. Francis.) How was taken to Quebec, where he died in May, 1747. "It is a very melancholy time with us", he wrote in his diary on November 24, 1746, "there are now thirty sick, and deaths among us daily." Pestilence carried off a great many of the prisoners, who were apparently crowded together in insanitary conditions. How's journal supplements and corrects that of William Pote, Jr. (*vide* Vol. i, p. 50 of this REVIEW), in which too was displayed the competent scholarship of Mr. Paltsits as editor.

Correspondence of William Pitt, when Secretary of State, with Colonial Governors and Military and Naval Commissioners in America. Edited, under the auspices of The National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, by Gertrude Selwyn Kimball. Toronto : The Macmillan Co. of Canada, 1906. 2 vols. Pp. lxix, 455 ; xxiii, 502. (Maps and Illustrations.)

No better idea could have struck any society than that of collecting and publishing Pitt's American correspondence. He was the life and soul of the Seven Years' War, the greatest English friend of the New World, and the most farsighted champion of a Greater Britain. His words wrought the heart of an empire to a fiery, true enthusiasm, while his actions disciplined that enthusiasm and turned it to effective account both at home and abroad. His deeds have long since become classic in world-history ; they are perennially interesting and may yet be studied with great advantage to the thinking public. His spoken words are still among the most stirring memories of the Lords and Commons, and will long remain so. But they were never faithfully reported ; we can never be quite sure of what he actually said, even on the greatest of occasions. And this is an additional reason for welcoming every publication of what he authentically wrote.

These two volumes contain so much invaluable material for students of history, they have evidently entailed so much editorial labour, and they are the outcome of so much commendable zeal in an excellent cause, that the reviewer is loth to find any fault with them at all. Yet, were a new edition required, some improvements might be made. The present text might again be tested here and there. Not that we would suggest any serious faultiness, but simply that re-collation is always advisable, when possible. One or two additions might also be considered admissible. Take, for instance, the "Secret Instructions for Brigr. General Wolfe," Feby. 5th, 1759, from George II, who undoubtedly consulted Pitt, as Pitt consulted him in the Secretary's own instructions. These have been published before ; but it is rather disappointing to see (p. 36 of vol. ii,) "Pitt to General Amherst, February 10, 1759. Enclosing a copy of General Wolfe's instructions," and then find no instructions. It is true, of course, that this, and a few other similar additions, may be considered beyond the proper scope of the work.

The Introduction, though very pleasant reading, is open to a few criticisms. Pitt went very carefully into everything which could be directed from civil headquarters, but the editor seems to have been misled by unfamiliarity with administrative methods into believing that he (p. xxiii) "directed not only the foreign policy of England, but also the administration of her army and navy down to the minutest details of equipment." We think Anson, among others, would have had something to say about that. At page xxv there is a sentence rather at variance with sound strategy, and with itself : "A campaign against this many-sided adversary [the French in America] would seem to have called for the dash and concentrated energy of a Napoleon, who should destroy his enemy piecemeal." It was this very piecemeal style of warfare that proved so abortive. Pages xxviii and l-li are not instinct with the true secret of sea-power. The loss of an island was nothing compared with Byng's untoward check,

and "the possession of naval resources seems to have exerted a surprisingly inconspicuous effect upon the issue of the conflict in America" is a strange mistake to be made by any one who quotes Captain Mahan on the same page. We notice that Dr. Doughty's documents on Wolfe's campaign are referred to in the notes (ii, p. 177), but apparently not used, as Parkman and Kingsford are followed in many details which have been corrected since their works were published. French authorities are conspicuous by their absence. We wonder if the editor might not find something in M. Richard Waddington's monumental *Guerre de Sept Ans*, even though it turns chiefly on European diplomacy.

The notes must have been a laborious compilation. The pity is that there should be so many inaccuracies about Canada, the very part which is evidently considered the most important of all. The geography is rather wild. Bic Island is described as "off the mouth of the Saguenay river" (i, p. 380) and in "the St. Lawrence River, off Saguenay" (ii, p. 110). Who would gather from this that it lies close to the south shore, where the St. Lawrence is 20 miles wide, and that the Saguenay joins the St. Lawrence on the north shore 40 miles up stream? Here are two notes, side by side, on the same page (ii, p. 293): "Sillery is about halfway between Quebec and Cap Rouge." "The Anse du Foulon, a mile and a half above Quebec, now called Wolfe's Cove." In fact Sillery is only about a quarter of the way to Cap Rouge and within three-quarters of a mile of Wolfe's Cove. Again, Boscawen writes to Pitt on the 1st of November, 1758,—"Sir Charles Hardy returned from the Gulph of St. Lawrence the 28th of September, inclosed I send you a report of what was done there by Sir Charles Hardy, and the troops under Brigadier Wolfe; Sir Charles Hardy was prevented getting above Cape Roozier[3] by strong Northerly winds." The footnote (3) says "Cap *Rouge*, on the St. Lawrence river, a short distance above Quebec." A geographical mistake of several hundred miles, combined with an historical one of a wholly different

campaign, and both in a single line ! There are some purely historical slips besides this. Murray was left with much more than "some 4,000 men" in Quebec in the autumn of 1759 (ii, p. 183). The note on Townshend (ii, p. 164) shows that the editor does not appreciate the difference between the plan of the brigadiers and the final one formed by Wolfe on his own initiative. On the next page (ii, p. 165) Vergor is unduly exonerated: he was a very good "boodler" and a very bad soldier. Wolfe's force present at the Battle of the Plains is under-estimated at "between 3,600 and 3,800." The exact numbers are shown on the official returns—4,829 of all ranks. On the next page, again, (ii, p. 166) the French force is similarly reduced, and two regiments in the British line are completely misplaced. "The first line of the left was formed of the 35th and 48th." The 35th was on the extreme right of all, the 48th formed the right reserve. Burton, who commanded the 48th, is said to have had "the 3rd Brigade in the expedition against Louisbourg" (ii, p. 80). Wolfe was the third Brigadier there. The naval note on "Catts" (ii, p. 160) is not very illuminative. "Flat-bottomed boats. The naval term is 'catamaran.' 'Cat' is the abbreviation commonly used." We are inclined to think that "catts" grew up among Teutonic seafarers without even an etymological reference to the surf-beaten coasts of Coromandel. And we hardly think another naval note, the one on Saunders (ii, p. 2), quite adequate to the circumstances. "He filled various naval offices, was made admiral in 1770, and died in 1775." Would anyone suppose, from this, that Saunders was one of the best successors of Anson at the head of the Admiralty ?

In spite of its faults the book is an interesting one ; and we can only repeat our earnest wish that it may soon re-appear in a new and carefully revised edition. In such a form it might well become a classic in its own particular line.

WILLIAM WOOD

Journals of the Hon. William Hervey in North America and Europe from 1785 to 1814; with Order Books at Montreal, 1760-1763. With Memoir and Notes. (Suffolk Green Books, No. XIV.) Bury St. Edmunds : Paul and Mathew, 1906. Pp. lxxvi, 548.

The name of William Hervey has not hitherto been known in connection with the British conquest of Canada, and it is not now likely to become well known, for his journals, just published, are comparatively uninteresting. Hervey, a younger son of the well known English noble family of that name, was born in 1732 and died in 1815. He spent eight years, 1755-1763, in military service in North America. The editor says of the small note-books from which he has prepared these military annals that

"they have heard the war hoop [*sic*] of the Red Indian and have seen the mark of his scalping knife. They have heard the roar of Niagara and been splashed by its spray. They have sailed in stately procession from end to end of Lake George, only to meet with a frightful disaster at Ticonderoga and to rush back again in unstately panic and disorder. They have sailed in another stately procession, 11,000 men in 800 boats, along the Lake Ontario and down the river St. Lawrence ; and this had a happier ending, for they knocked at the gate of Montreal, and the French went out and they went in, and Canada was completely won" (p. v).

The volume includes a very meagre journal of a march with Shirley's regiment from Boston to Lake Ontario in 1755; a journal of a summer under Shirley and Loudoun in 1756, spent chiefly in work on roads and in repairing forts; a journal of the disastrous campaign against Ticonderoga in 1758 ; and, most important of all, a pretty full journal of the expedition of Amherst from Albany to Montreal in 1760. The editor discusses the authorship of these journals and concludes that the first two are not by Hervey (pp. xxiii-iv). In addition to the journals we have the Order Books of General Gage's brigade from June, 1760, to May, 1763, when Hervey returned to England. These Order Books are especially valuable as a record of the military occupation of Montreal from its surrender to the final conclusion of peace in 1763. The numerous courts-martial show us the brutal discipline of the time. For theft, flogging to the extent of 1000 lashes on the bare back, and even death, are penalties too common, but the

severity of the military tribunals is constantly mitigated by the humanity of the General, who exercises the pardoning power freely. The volume will be useful in verifying the details of the military history of the period.

The notes are written without any view to publication. Hervey seems to have had the habit of pencilling memoranda of what he saw while the events were going on before his eyes. He describes, for instance, in the present tense, as the incidents occur while he is watching them, Amherst's attack on Fort Lévis (not Levi as given here) which barred the way to Montreal. It is a pity that the diarist's persistent industry in making notes and his accuracy of observation are not supplemented by literary gifts. The narrative is never dramatic though there is much dramatic material.

The Orders show that in Montreal civilians were sometimes fined and compelled to apologize for abusing or assaulting the military (p. 159), and these earlier strained relations helped, no doubt, to bring about the conditions that led to the well known Walker outrage at a later time when officers were charged with attempting to murder a Montreal magistrate. One of the Orders in 1762 is against reckless driving "tandem" in the streets of Montreal in the winter. It is complained that "slays with two horses are often drove through the city without any reins to the foremost horse, to the great danger of the inhabitants" (p. 177). "Mawxisons" (p. 136) is an ingeniously perverse spelling.

The new edition of Major William Wood's *Fight for Canada** represents the final form which the author expects to give to his most successful book. He has added a new map of the campaign of 1759, based upon a contemporary engineer's map, but with much new detail and the correction of previous errors. The map is in three sections and shows, for the first time accurately, all the movements before, during,

**The Fight for Canada. A Sketch from the History of the Great Imperial War.* By William Wood. [Second edition.] Boston : Little Brown & Co., 1906. Pp. xx, 369.

and after the Battle of the Plains of Abraham. Important additions have been made to the Bibliography and the already excellent literary style of the first edition has been improved in the direction of simplicity. Major Wood accepts the objections raised by Professor Morris in 1900 (see our Vol. v, p. 43) to the legend of Wolfe's reciting Gray's *Elegy* as his force dropped down to the Anse de Foulon on the night of September 12-13, 1759, and this incident is now relegated to the afternoon of the 12th when Wolfe was engaged in reconnoitring the shore from a boat (p. 222).

The plan of the series of *Lectures on British Colonization and Empire* is excellent.* There are half a dozen short lectures in each volume and lantern slides are furnished to accompany and illustrate the lectures. The First Series has a lecture on the conquest of Canada, which should have had more careful revision. Cartier is made to carry on eight apparently continuous years of exploration from 1535 (p. 55); the first capture of Louisbourg is put in 1747 ; the Iroquois are spoken of as Six Nations long before they became such (p. 58), etc., etc. But on the whole the lectures are well suited to their purpose.

Mr. W. L. Grant's article (in French) on M. de Bussy's mission to London in 1761 to negotiate a peace which should end the Seven Years' War† is a careful study of a futile attempt. At the time Pitt was resolved to destroy French sea power and the negotiations broke down chiefly on the question whether France should continue to hold Cape Breton, or Prince Edward Island, or even Canso, in North America. Pitt knew that the American fisheries were the chief means of recruiting France's navy and he would not yield any de-

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**Lectures on British Colonization and Empire.* First Series (1600-1783). By F. A. Kirkpatrick. With an introduction by Professor H. E. Egerton. London : John Murray, 1906. Pp. 114.

†*La Mission de M. de Bussy à Londres en 1761.* Par W. Lawson Grant. Extrait de la "Revue d'Histoire diplomatique," 1906. Pp. 20.

mands that France should have a base on land in what is now Canada. To Choiseul the point seemed vital and he allied himself with Spain rather than inflict so deep a wound on France's naval prospects as to yield. The negotiations show that Pitt already saw the full significance of Britain's sea power. Mr. Grant's article is able and scholarly.

À propos of a review of Doughty and Parmelee's "Siege of Quebec" M. Henri Lorin gives an admirable sketch of the last days of French Canada.* In a similar connection M. René de Kerallain brings his unrivalled knowledge to bear upon the problems connected with the fall of Canada.† He supports Dr. Doughty in defending Montcalm's decision to fight Wolfe before the walls of Quebec ; and in doubting the authenticity of the "high-falutin" letter praising the valour of his foes which Montcalm is supposed to have written from his death-bed. Montcalm did write at that time a simple soldier's letter in which he admitted that Quebec must fall. M. de Kerallain takes occasion to criticize the Abbé Casgrain's methods, as often before. Vaudreuil, too, gets no praise. M. de Kerallain explains that this may be owing only to the lack of evidence as to the Governor's side of the story. It appears that during the Franco-German war the heirs of Vaudreuil destroyed his *Journal* lest it should fall into the hands of the Prussians and they thus made away with material that might have vindicated their relative. M. de Kerallain asks pertinently if there was no safe corner in France to which the manuscript might have been sent. Is he poking fun at Sir Gilbert Parker's history when he speaks of his "Old Quebec" as written by one of the "romanciers" ?

**Les Derniers Jours du Canada français, à propos d'un livre récent.* Par Henri Lorin. (Revue des Deux Mondes, 15 juin, 1906, pp. 873-897.)

†*La Prise de Québec et la Perte du Canada.* Par René de Kerallain. (Revue Historique, tome 90, 1906, pp. 307-335.)

Le Régime Militaire (1760-1764). Par Benjamin Sulte. Discours présidentiel. (Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 2nd Series, vol. xi, pp. xxvii-lxxxviii.)

M. B. Sulte is not a classical writer. He affects a free style and will not take the trouble to follow the rules which academic writers observe. But he is bright, lively, and original, and has something to say. His presidential address to the Royal Society reveals his characteristics. It is rather a talk than an address, but a talk crammed with facts, sparkling with new views and plain truths, and at times instinct with a somewhat bitter irony.

It is customary in the history of Canada to give the name "Régime militaire" to the period between the 18th of September, 1759 (the date of the surrender of Quebec), and the 10th of August, 1764 (the date when Murray published his commission as head of the colony). This description may not be exact, but it would be difficult to find a better one. During this time Amherst, the Commander-in-chief of the British troops, exercised authority over the territory occupied by his army by means of his inferiors, Murray, Gage and Burton. Until the Treaty of Paris war still continued in Europe and also in America. The armistice which existed during these preliminaries to peace did not change the situation. Hence martial law, and that alone, was in the circumstances supreme.

The capitulation of Quebec, signed by the commander of a fortified town on September 18th, 1759, mitigated somewhat the rigours of martial law. But that capitulation could affect only the inhabitants, the garrison and the territory included in the terms of surrender. The capitulation of Montreal, signed on the 8th of September, 1760, by the Governor-general representing the King of France, abandoned the colony to the English, but with certain reservations which modified profoundly the state of war. In fact under the restrictions introduced by this capitulation martial law could be applied only in well specified cases, stated in one of the articles.

This capitulation of Montreal exceeded the limits of ordinary capitulations. It was really a treaty of provisional cession, and in order to indicate clearly the state of uncertainty it is said several times that the articles are signed and will govern all parties until the two crowns shall have definitely arranged to whom finally the colony is to belong. Hence arise very interesting questions of international, political and private rights. For instance, was Canada acquired by conquest, occupied as a consequence of capitulation, or ceded by written arrangement on both sides ? When did the real English occupation begin, at the cessation of hostilities, or at the date of the final treaty of peace in 1763 ? Could the King of England make laws for the colony or must Parliament legislate ? And in relation to private property and personal rights many more questions might arise. Up to what time did French law remain in force and when did English law take its place ? M. Sulte, who is not a lawyer, only touches on these subjects in passing.

M. Sulte sets himself the easier task of showing that historians err in saying that martial law was rigorously applied. It was in reality a mixed régime, tempered by the good will of both parties until the fate of the colony should be definitely settled in Europe. There were both martial and civil law according to the case, but above all there was equity. This is vastly different from the pictures of swashbucklers, of gibbets, of colonists hunted like wild beasts and stripped of their goods, painted by certain novelists and extravagant pamphleteers whom M. Sulte ridicules. The towns were garrisoned and the country parts occupied by detachments in arms, which was quite natural. But this situation was far better than that in which the poor Acadians had found themselves and vastly different from what the French themselves had imposed upon the Palatinate and the territories along the banks of the Rhine. Interesting pages could be written about the relations of English officers and soldiers stationed in the country with the priests and settlers. It would only be neces-

sary to transcribe from the numerous private papers which we have of the time, letters passing between the curés and the vicars-general of the diocese. On this point perhaps M. Sulte's study does not go far enough. But the *ordonnances* issued by the governors and the instructions received from England, which he publishes, tell us clearly that the policy was conciliation at any price. We have proof of this in the single fact that the English officers were careful to write and speak French wherever they wished to communicate with the settler. But many other little facts might be noticed. M. Sulte tries to depict the state of mind of the settler during this short period and holds that he had no regrets regarding France, and that he at once responded to the kind treatment of the English. There is a good deal of truth in this. The settler, wearied by so many years of struggle, robbed by the officers of the government, asked for one thing only, peace. Provided he were allowed to live, provided he were not banished like the Acadian, and might hold the bit of ground worked by his ancestors, watered with their sweat and blood, he asked for nothing more. This was not apathy, nor satisfaction at seeing himself delivered from the French yoke; it was the natural feeling of the simple-minded countryman who has not the abstract idea of patriotism as understood by educated men.

Moreover, a change of government was of little importance to this race which had never been called to take part in the direction of affairs and had always been kept in leading-strings, in a state bordering on serfdom. In the settler the Englishman met suspicion rather than ill-will and this suspicion was due especially to the fact that the English had not the same religion as the French. To explain this suspicion it should not be forgotten that when the colony was invaded by the English, Bishop Pontbriand declared a Holy War. It is sufficient to read his *mandements* to be convinced of this. It was the enemy of the Catholic religion that the Canadians must fight rather than the enemy of the King of France. The priests thundered from the pulpits against the schismatics

and the people were urged to rush to this new crusade. After Montreal had fallen the leaders of the clergy realized that the conquerors must be conciliated. But the country curés, who were less diplomatic, continued to warn their flocks against the officers and soldiers. And it was on this point that Murray and the other governors had perhaps the most to complain of and to guard against. M. Sulte has not sufficiently brought out this spirit of mistrust which inspired the settler. Nor does he say anything about the meetings which were held in the parishes and the subscriptions to send delegates to England in order to obtain the free exercise of the Catholic religion and the maintenance of the clergy. This was indeed the chief and only anxiety with the settler. In the towns and amongst the merchants on the other hand the chief anxiety was whether the French government would honour the thousands of bills of exchange with which its officials had bought provisions for the army. Would there be repudiation or bankruptcy ? When the King of England forced the weak Louis XV to pay up, this was not one of the least reasons which induced the conquered people to accept with good grace the new régime. Besides all this, immediately after the surrender of Quebec there were colonists, particularly amongst the officials in the towns, who at once went over openly to the side of the English. These, such as the Cugnets and the Panets, whose families had lived in the colony only from the middle of the 18th century, knew the disordered state of France and her inability to keep the colony, and preferred at once to make terms with the new masters. There was another class,—Canadians who had had no relations with the motherland for more than a hundred years. Among these the sentiment of blood and language developed later, when certain officials of the new government tried to oppress the French. The war of American independence, the French revolution, the victories of Napoleon, all helped to produce a renascence of French patriotism in Canada and it was these new aspirations which produced the poet Cré-

mazie. He enlarged and beautified the legend of France in Canada. M. Sulte is in error when he says that Crémazie was the originator of a mock sentimentalism. He was the singer and echo of a real sentiment, which arose however a long time after 1763.

M. Sulte has not the art of omitting the unessential. He quotes at too great length from documents and thus distracts the attention. In trying to crowd too many facts into a narrow frame-work he omits some important events. For example, he does not deal extensively enough with preliminaries to the treaty of peace of 1763. He does not mention the intrigues of Voltaire with Choiseul and Mme. de Pompadour in order to force them to give up Canada. Nor does he say that France was weary of the distant colony which brought her so little and had already cost her so many misfortunes. There is in one of the galleries of the palace of Versailles a great painting in which the citizens of the good city of Paris are seen congratulating King Louis XV for having concluded the treaty of 1763. This shows clearly that the French nation regretted but little the loss of its great colony. Moreover the illuminations of the time at Bordeaux, the great theatrical evening given by Voltaire in his château at Ferney in commemoration of the treaty of Paris, give us a view of the public mind of France at the time. The truth is that mother and daughter separated without regrets and without remorse. England has shown that she was no step-mother to the abandoned child whom she adopted and who is exhibiting to the world to-day so wonderful a development. The present descendants from those of French blood who founded Canada have certainly nothing to complain of if the fortunes of war decided that their allegiance should be different from that of their forefathers.

Mr. Percy K. Fitzhugh writes history for children and his account of General Richard Montgomery* is an amusing

**The Story of General Richard Montgomery. Tale of the Invasion of Canada.* By Percy K. Fitzhugh. New York : McLoughlin Brothers, [1906]. Pp. 88.

example of patriotic history for the young. Accuracy was never its strong point. George III "the weakest and most foolish king that ever sat upon a throne" is "His Royal Highness"; Louisbourg was a "proud old city"; Amherst is "Amhurst"; Britain's "army was enormous" at the time of the Revolutionary War and no nation "could contend against her legions," when in fact she had to hire German soldiers for service in America; George III, it seems, "forced his Parliament to pass.....the Navigation Act." The descriptions of Montreal and Quebec indicate that they were teeming centres of population in 1775. There is the old bitter tone; when Britain dislodges France in America she has "a continent....many times her size in everything but arrogance." The book though attractive in style is worth mentioning only because it embodies a type of the ignorant prejudice against Great Britain which may still appear in the United States in books for the young, but has been almost completely exorcised from standard school books.

The tragical history of the American loyalists has furnished a theme for many writers and there is now no lack of fairly authoritative works dealing with it. There is also a growing disposition in the United States to review the position and acts of the loyalists in a dispassionate and even a sympathetic manner. Of this the recent excellent works of Professors Flick and Van Tyne, are good examples. M. de Fronsac's small volume on the subject contains abundant evidence of extensive reading but cannot be said to add much, if anything, to our stock of knowledge.* The author's bias is too manifest to require comment. Misprints of names are numerous. Burgoyne for instance is invariably printed "Burgoigne."

**Rise of the United Empire Loyalists.* (A Sketch of American History.) By the Viscount de Fronsac. Kingston, Ontario : British Whig Publishing Company, 1906. Pp. 124.

The Story of Old Fort Johnson. By W. Max Reid. New York and London : G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906. Pp. xii, 240.

The recent acquisition by the Montgomery County Historical Society, as the gift of General John Watts de Peyster, of the old stone house near Amsterdam, N.Y., built by Sir William Johnson in 1742 and occupied by him for nearly twenty years, has suggested the compilation of this well printed and nicely illustrated volume. The house has been designated Mount Johnson, Castle Johnson, and Fort Johnson by different writers, and well deserves the name of a "historic mansion." Here Sir William Johnson presided at councils with the Six Nations and their allies of such momentous importance that they may be said to have affected the fate of the continent. Here the warriors assembled before advancing to Lake George and Fort Niagara, and here he entertained as guests General Amherst, Governors Shirley and Tryon, James de Lancey, Judge Jones, and Mrs. Grant of Laggan during the "golden age" of the province of New York. Here Sir John Johnson was born and here he lived the first year of his wedded life. With such a wealth of material to draw upon, Mr. Reid has produced a very disappointing book. The historical chapters are rambling and incoherent and too strongly biased to carry much weight. The somewhat chequered career of Sir John Johnson has sufficient interest and significance to deserve more sympathetic treatment.

Born in 1742, he was present as a volunteer at the siege of Fort Niagara before he had completed his seventeenth year. Two years later he accompanied his father to a great council of the western Indians at Detroit, and in 1764 commanded three hundred warriors of the Six Nations in the expedition under General Bradstreet for the relief of that place. While on a visit to England soon afterwards, he was knighted by George III in recognition of the eminent services of his father during Pontiac's War. Upon his return he was elected a member of the New York Assembly for the County of Albany,

defeating Philip Schuyler the candidate of the Livingston party and thereby incurring the lasting animosity of that powerful and not over scrupulous politician. In 1773 Sir John married Mary, daughter of Hon. John Watts, President of the executive council of the province, and took up his residence at Fort Johnson, removing after his father's death to Johnson Hall where he lived when the revolution began. When Sir William Johnson died, he was the greatest landowner in British America with the possible exception of the Penn family, and his estates were in the main bequeathed to his son Sir John and his two sons-in-law, Daniel Claus and Guy Johnson, all of whom were staunch loyalists. To an interrogation from the self-constituted committee of safety for Tryon County, Sir John resolutely replied "that sooner than lift his hand against his King or sign any association he would suffer his head to be cut off." An army of four thousand men led by his old enemy Schuyler marched against him, his tenants were disarmed and he was put under arrest for some time but finally liberated on parole and allowed to remain at his residence under surveillance. In May, 1776, Sir John was secretly warned that Schuyler had written a letter to him releasing him from his parole, and that he had given this letter to Colonel Drayton, commanding a New Jersey regiment, to deliver, with instructions to make him a prisoner with other leading loyalists. Before Drayton's arrival, Johnson hurriedly assembled nearly two hundred of his friends and tenants and fled northwards to Canada through the great Adirondack wilderness towards St. Regis guided by a few faithful Mohawks. They had had little opportunity to collect provisions and for nine days subsisted entirely upon wild onions, roots, and beech leaves, arriving at Caughnawaga greatly exhausted and half starved. Collecting several hundred Canadians and Indians, Johnson joined Sir Guy Carleton the day after he recovered possession of Montreal. After his departure Johnson Hall was converted into a barracks for Drayton's regiment, and its contents were destroyed or plundered. Lady

Johnson and her children were deported with the families of other loyalist refugees and detained as hostages for their good conduct. The committee of safety significantly remarked that as long as their wives and children were in custody neither Johnson nor his companions would be likely to act against them as in that event the families "would not be saved from the violence of the people," and Lady Johnson was even threatened with death if her husband failed to restrain the Indians. The Mohawks on the other hand declared that if the hostages were harmed they would retaliate with fire and sword.

In January, 1777, however, Lady Johnson escaped from custody with her small children and gained the British lines near New York, but her infant perished on the road and another child died from the exposure of the journey. It has been asserted that Sir John Johnson did not inherit his father's influence or popularity, but it is significant that most of his tenants and many of his neighbours followed him into exile and formed the King's Royal Regiment of New York under his command, consisting of two battalions of more than a thousand men. With part of this corps Sir John accompanied Colonel St. Leger in his unsuccessful expedition against Fort Stanwix in the summer of 1777. Then he was attainted with his brothers-in-law by the Legislature of the State of New York and their great estates became the spoil of their victorious enemies. Thenceforward Sir John's headquarters were at Montreal. In May, 1780, he led three hundred men from Crown Point through the woods to Johnson Hall, recovered his buried plate and papers, devastated a long stretch of the valley and brought off many loyalists who had been eagerly awaiting his appearance. Again in October of that year he headed an expedition from Oswego to create a diversion in favour of Sir Henry Clinton's movement up the Hudson, as well as "to destroy the enemy's supplies from the late plentiful harvest and to aid the loyalists in escaping." The vale of Schoharie and much of the Mohawk valley were laid

waste with an unsparing hand and two small bodies of troops which attempted to check his progress were routed.

After peace was concluded Sir John purchased the seigniory of Argenteuil but usually lived for a good part of the year at Mount Johnson, his town house in Montreal. Lord Dorchester recommended him as possessing the highest qualifications for the post of Lieutenant-Governor of the new Province of Upper Canada, and when he failed to receive this appointment made him Superintendent General of the Indian Department, a post which he retained until his death in 1830.

There was much in this long life of eighty-eight years worth telling which Mr. Reid has failed to tell. His point of view is one of extreme simplicity. The "patriots" were all brave, good men, the "Tories" were invariably wicked and cowardly. Johnson's conduct in particular was actuated only by ignoble and sordid motives. The loyalists are either mildly described as "traitors" or as "cruel Tories whose fiendish natures had been aroused in this cruel partisan war by the example of the Butlers and Johnsons." He consistently ignores the drastic and relentless persecution by which they had been driven forth as outlaws into the wilderness.

A very large proportion of the earliest settlers in Upper Canada, the disbanded soldiers of Butler's Rangers and the King's Royal Regiment of New York (Sir John Johnson's corps) were loyalist refugees from the frontier County of Tryon in the famous Mohawk valley region of the old Province of New York. The *Minute Book of the Committee of Safety of Tryon County** now published throws considerable light upon the masterful measures by which the committee established and maintained its supremacy. Resolutions were passed on May 29th and June 11th requiring all inhabitants

**The Minute Book of the Committee of Safety of Tryon County.* Now printed verbatim for the first time, with an introduction by J. Howard Hanson, and notes by Samuel Ludlow Frey. New York : Dodd Mead and Company, 1905. Pp. xvi, 152.

to sign the "General Association" entered into by the district. Recalcitrants were promptly haled before the committee and fined or imprisoned. The loyalist sheriff of the County was forcibly deposed from his office and a member of the committee elected to fill his place. The wretched inhabitants soon suffered from all the miseries and horrors of the most savage civil strife. Most families were divided into contending factions. One-third of the population became active loyalists and fled to Canada whence they returned in arms to ravage and lay waste the property of their enemies. It has been estimated that seven hundred buildings were burned and twelve thousand farms deserted or devastated, and at the conclusion of the war there were three hundred and eighty widows and two thousand fatherless children among the survivors. Mr. Frey's notes contain much biographical information and indicate that many of the original committeemen were killed in the sanguinary battle of Oriskany.

Less than ten pages are given to Canada in Volume IX of the *Cambridge Modern History*.* They are written by Mr. H. E. Egerton, the new Professor of Colonial History at Oxford, and cover the period from the English conquest to the war of 1812. They are written with accuracy unusual on the other side of the Atlantic where Canada is concerned. We have an intelligent account of the Quebec Act and of the later establishment of representative institutions. Professor Egerton has gone to the sources for most of his information. He quotes Governor Craig's description of the Assembly of Lower Canada in 1810.

> "The Assembly consisted of six petty shopkeepers, a blacksmith, a miller, fifteen ignorant peasants, a doctor or apothecary, and twelve Canadian *avocats* and notaries, besides 'four so far respectable people that at least they do not keep shops.' Ten Englishmen completed the list. 'There is not one person coming under the description of a Canadian gentleman among them.'"

Craig does not mean that the English members are not gentlemen: he means only that the French-Canadian *seigneur*

**The Cambridge Modern History*, . Vol. ix: *Napoleon*. Cambridge: University Press, 1906. Pp. xxviii, 946.

was almost extinct. Many of the seigniories had by this time fallen into British hands and in the absence of seigniors of their own blood the natural leaders of the French-Canadians were the doctors, the lawyers and the traders whom Craig so despised.

Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière has translated into English and printed in pamphlet form the sermon on Nelson's victory at the Nile preached by Mgr. Plessis at Quebec in January, 1799.* He has added useful historical and biographical notes. We noticed in our Volume X the French text of the sermon.

John Mair, a friend of John Wilkes, and the father-in-law of Nassau W. Senior, at whose house in London he died in 1830, was an inveterate traveller and in 1791 he visited America. His journal of the American tour is now printed for the first time.† It is in no wise remarkable, but is still the work of an intelligent observer. Mair entered Canada by way of Lake Champlain and passed down the Richelieu to Chambly and thence to Montreal. Either he or the copyist makes Longueuil "Longueville," "a very extensive tho' straggling town" near Montreal. Montreal consisted of but two principal streets. The ramparts "are gone to decay and the ditch is nearly fill'd up" but the "export in Wheat and Flour is prodigeous." At Quebec he admired the Castle of St. Louis hanging over the cliff. Politically the people are not contented, the English complaining that they would not have settled in the country had they undertsood the prevalence of French law. As we know, in that very year Canada was furnished with a brand-new constitution.

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*_Thanksgiving Sermon for the Victory of Great Britain at the Battle of the Nile._ By Mgr. Plessis. Translated by Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière. Quebec : Dussault & Proulx, 1906. Pp. 40.

†_Journal of John Mair, 1791._ (The American Historical Review, October, 1906, pp. 77-94.)

John Graves Simcoe. By Duncan Campbell Scott. Toronto : Morang & Co., 1905. Pp. 241. (The Makers of Canada.)

In this volume Mr. Scott has presented in simple and rather pleasing literary form the chief incidents of Governor Simcoe's career. He has not, however, made any serious effort to interpret Simcoe's place in history, as one of the "Makers of Canada." As a matter of fact, the personal characteristics of the first governor of Upper Canada and his visionary schemes of autocratic paternalism do not afford much comfort to any one seeking to deal seriously with him as a maker of the country.

As Mr. Scott recognizes, Simcoe was essentially a soldier and not a statesman, nor even a practical politician. And yet even as a soldier his career during the American Revolution was anything but fortunate. We have it, indeed, on his own authority that this was the fault at once of incompetent superior officers, and the wretched character of the enemy, supplemented by the mysterious workings of Providence. Still, when he made his second trial of America, as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, he was once more the victim of an adverse fate, for the numerous and picturesque military projects, to the planning of which he devoted so much time and imagination, were invariably treated with heartless indifference by his superior, Lord Dorchester, the Governor-General. But if Simcoe's military projects were extravagant and impracticable, much more so were his schemes of civil government, which brought him into conflict alike with the assembly, the ablest men in his council and once more with Lord Dorchester. As is the case with some modern imperialists, it was the hard fate of Simcoe to be blindly devoted to the British Government in the abstract, and at the same time so utterly exasperated with the British Government in the concrete as to feel compelled to seek relief in language suggestive of sedition if not of open rebellion. Such outbursts on the part of Simcoe, when crossed in some of his most fanciful schemes,

were commonly treated by Lord Dorchester and the home government with a calmness and indulgence which were anything but flattering to the personal importance of the Lieutenant-Governor.

Though Simcoe's projects were for the most part so extravagant as to be quite harmless, yet many of them were for that reason most interesting in themselves, several indeed charmingly picturesque and romantic, and Mr. Scott might have added considerably to the interest of his volume had he given us a few of them in greater detail. But whatever may be said of the wisdom of Simcoe's measures, there can be no doubt whatever of the transparent honesty of all his intentions and of the self-sacrificing devotion with which he applied himself to whatever he conceived to be for the good of the new province.

Though practically none of Simcoe's estimates of the needs of the province were ultimately justified, yet in some respects he left a more permanent impression on its future than he could possibly have suspected. He undoubtedly believed himself to be acting in the best interests of the colony when he sought to establish a landed aristocracy which should furnish a governing class for the province and prevent the introduction of those democratic tendencies towards self-government which had occasioned the loss of the late colonies. But, in bringing out with him an initial group of future feudal lords, among whom were distributed large estates and the chief offices of the executive government, it was Simcoe's privilege to found the famous "Family Compact" which was to be the occasion of so much bitterness in later years. Yet this obnoxious aristocratic circle was simply carrying out, for the most part in good faith, the ideas with which Simcoe had imbued them, namely that they were to be the privileged guardians of the imperial power and the natural rulers of the colony. However, while he remained in the province, Simcoe himself saw little indication of the success of any of his numerous projects. Disappointed in the character of

the representatives chosen by even his favoured loyalists, thwarted in many of his most cherished schemes by Lord Dorchester, with even his feudal aristocracy and his lord lieutenancies of counties regarded but coldly by the Colonial Secretary, opposed at almost every turn by the most influential of the provincial loyalists and churchmen in his council, deserted by his imported British servants, and even by large numbers of the imported troops, he left the province as much discouraged as it was possible for one of his buoyant temperament to be. Shortly after returning to England he died as he was entering upon another field of military activity in Europe.

As his biographer indicates, the outstanding characteristic of Simcoe's personality was his unswerving uprightness. As a natural sequel, he was sincerely and unselfishly devoted to whatever he conceived to be his duty, and so completely identified himself with what appeared to him to be the proper line of action that he could neither understand nor treat with patience any other view of the matter.

The Canadian War of 1812. By C. P. Lucas. Oxford : The Clarendon Press, 1906. Pp. 270.

Mr. C. P. Lucas, Assistant Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, has been favourably known for some time as an author by his valuable work on the "Historical Geography of the British Colonies." His present volume, modestly described in the preface as "an instalment of Canadian History," should enhance his reputation and undoubtedly deserves a place in the first rank of recent publications on the subject. It is based almost entirely upon a careful and systematic study of contemporary correspondence already in print, although secondary resources of information have not been disregarded. He seems to have thoroughly mastered his materials and his familiarity with the geography of the continent has been a distinct advantage in tracing the course of the various campaigns. His narrative is eminently accur-

ate, direct and impartial, and his comments are invariably sane and well considered. There is no bitterness of tone and no effort to flatter national vanity at the expense of historic truth. Errors are few and unimportant and scarcely a misprint can be anywhere detected. Six contemporary maps have been reproduced from the "Military and Topographical Atlas of the United States including the British Possessions and Florida, &c.," published by John Melish at Philadelphia in 1813 with an evident intention of promoting the military operations then in progress.

The merits and defects of the principal commanders on both sides are carefully and judicially reviewed and in the main the criticisms of Mr. Lucas seem just and reasonable. While Brock's military genius and nobility of character naturally excite a certain enthusiasm, Drummond is fairly rated as a talented and resolute leader of the second rank. In dealing with such unsuccessful commanders as Procter and Prevost, Hull and Wilkinson, whose failures have so frequently subjected them to unmeasured denunciation, he recounts the difficulties by which they were beset and is constantly fair and moderate in his judgment.

The cheerful assurance of the leaders of the war party in the United States in hurrying their country into hostilities for which it was by no means prepared, in the expectation of accomplishing the conquest of Canada in a single campaign, was perhaps to some extent warranted by the amazing recklessness of the British cabinet, who stubbornly closed their ears to every note of warning and neglected to make any reasonable provision for Canada's defence. The only measures that could at all be construed as tending in that direction were the fortunate appointment of Major-General Brock to command the troops in Upper Canada and at the same time to administer the civil government in the absence of Lieutenant-Governor Gore, and the reluctant assent to the formation of two new provincial corps of fencibles, the Glengarry Light Infantry and the Canadian Voltigeurs,which however was prompt-

ly countermanded as soon as it was determined to revoke the obnoxious Orders-in-Council. So marked indeed was this neglect in respect to the frontier posts of Upper Canada that Brock wrote soon after his assumption of the command that "a general opinion obtained that no opposition in the event of hostilities was intended."

Repeated and persistent threats of war from the United States had so little influence upon the mind of the British Secretary for War that he had actually ordered two of the best battalions of regular troops in Canada to be sent to Europe without taking any steps to replace them by others. It was precisely the excellent fighting qualities of these two corps (the first battalions of the 41st and 49th Foot) as a matter of fact that prevented the upper province from being overrun during the first six months of the war. The zeal and exertions of the loyal militia alone would have been of little avail in opposing the tide of invasion without a nucleus of trained troops to rely upon. At it was, the regular garrison of all the British North American provinces, which had been increased to nearly ten thousand men in consequence of the *Chesapeake* incident, had become by degrees reduced to less than half that number in the beginning of 1812. And the quality of some at least of these troops was not considered first-rate. The American General Smyth in an oft-quoted address to his army assured it that the regular soldiers whom they were about to oppose were generally old men "whose best years had been spent in the sickly climate of the West Indies," and that the American weapons were longer than those of the British infantry. "They will not be able to stand before you when you charge with the bayonet," he added.

The commander-in-chief, Sir James Craig, a firm, masterful soldier of the highest reputation, to whose virile qualities Mr. Lucas does ample justice, had been lately succeeded by Sir George Prevost, a man of high character and more than ordinary ability it is true, but who was destined to prove that he lacked the audacity and decision necessary to cope with a

great emergency in the field. But his conciliatory disposition and unfailing courtesy, combined with an intimate acquaintance with the French language and racial characteristics, speedily made him popular among the inhabitants of Lower Canada, overcame their discontent and united them with the English population in their defence of their province. This in itself was no mean achievement and has been too frequently underrated or ignored.

Five of the battalions of regular troops stationed in British North America were provincial fencible corps which had been specially enlisted in those colonies for local defence. Their equipment, methods of discipline and conditions of service were similar to those of other regiments of the line, except that they were enlisted to serve until a general peace was concluded, and although they might be transferred from one province to another they were not liable for service in any other quarter of the globe. These were the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, the Nova Scotia Fencibles, Canadian Fencibles, Canadian Voltigeurs, and Glengarry Light Infantry, the two latter being newly recruited under a recent order. Three others—the New Brunswick Fencibles, the Frontier Light Infantry and the Incorporated Militia of Upper Canada were added during the war. Besides these the 104th Regiment of Foot had lately been reorganized in the province of New Brunswick, being mainly recruited among the descendants of the American loyalists. The men of these corps generally were familiar with the country, closely related to the inhabitants, and thoroughly acclimated. The Royal Newfoundland Regiment being largely composed of skilful boatmen was at once selected for marine duty and served on all the lakes between Kingston and Mackinac besides being engaged in many actions on shore. The 104th and Glengarry Light Infantry came to the front in 1813 and won deserved distinction in many a stubborn fight. The Canadian Fencibles and Canadian Voltigeurs, composed almost entirely of French-Canadians, were less favoured by opportunity but on every

occasion displayed soldierly qualities of the highest order. Mr. Lucas recites at considerable length the circumstances connected with the organization of the Glengarry Light Infantry as an example of the best type of a provincial regiment. It consisted mainly of the sons of Highland emigrants from the locality in Scotland whence it derived its name, but recruits were also drawn from the Scottish settlements on the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the maritime provinces and even from the United States. Adam Walker, a soldier in Hull's army, notes in his journal that while a prisoner of war at Three Rivers he recognized several men in the ranks of this regiment who had deserted from the 4th United States Infantry the year before. The Reverend Alexander Macdonnell, afterwards the first Roman Catholic Bishop in Upper Canada, exerted his powerful influence among his countrymen of the same faith to rouse their martial spirit and encourage them to enlist, and being appointed chaplain of the corps actually accompanied it into action on several occasions. It was an exceptionally select and fine body of men which by careful training and strict discipline became incomparable light infantry. Friend and foe have alike testified to their superlative merit and efficiency.

The possession of a few small vessels of war upon Lakes Erie and Ontario, known as the Provincial Marine and not in any way connected with the Royal Navy, gave the defenders of Canada the great advantage of undisputed control of those waters for several months after hostilities began and immensely facilitated the movement of troops and supplies during that period.

Still more important was it at that time to secure and retain the friendship and active co-operation of the Indians of the north-west who were still numerous and warlike. This had been one of the first objects that had occupied Sir James Craig's attention after his arrival at Quebec in 1807. Colonel William Claus, a deputy superintendent of the Indian Department, had been sent to Amherstburg soon after to ascertain

the disposition of the nations residing west of the Ohio in the event of a war with the United States, and reported that they were certainly hostile to the Americans, but that unless they had a definite assurance of substantial support from the British they would probably be "very backward." He estimated the number of their fighting men at fifteen hundred, and Colonel Matthew Elliott, who was regarded as a still better authority, affirmed that a single battalion of British regulars would be sufficient to take Detroit when all of them would at once become active allies.

During the four years that had elapsed since this report the white population beyond the Ohio had increased with great rapidity, and the Indians had become relatively weaker, but their hostility had been intensified by constant encroachments upon their territory and collisions with the settlers. In pursuance of special instructions from the Colonial Office the influence of the officials of the Indian Department was steadily exerted to restrain them from attacking the American frontier as far as this could be done without offending them. This was no easy task. Already Brock contemplated enlisting their assistance should war be declared. "But before I can expect any co-operation on the part of the Indians," he wrote to the Governor-General on the 3rd December, 1811, "the reduction of Detroit and Michilimackinac must convince that people (who consider themselves to have been sacrificed to our policy in 1794) that we are earnestly engaged in the war." A couple of months later he began a correspondence with Robert Dickson at Prairie du Chien, who had been engaged in the fur-trade there for more than twenty years and possessed great influence among the warlike tribes near the Mississippi, to secure his support, while about the same time the Governor-General sought the co-operation of the powerful fur-trading companies having their headquarters in Montreal. Still, the expenditure of the Indian Department for the year 1811, so far from exhibiting a great increase, as Governor Harrison of Indiana asserted, was actually less than that of the year before when there was no apprehension of war.

Taking however the most sanguine view of the situation it scarcely seemed that anything short of a miracle could prevent the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, outside of the citadel of Quebec, from falling an easy conquest to its invaders before sufficient reinforcements could possibly arrive. To most Americans it was a foregone conclusion that the appearance of an army on the frontier and the publication of a proclamation would accomplish this. It was confidently asserted that a majority of the inhabitants of Canada were thoroughly disaffected and that if arms were put into their hands they would themselves drive out the British garrison. The population of the United States numbered eight millions, while that of all the British provinces did not exceed 350,000. Upper Canada in particular, with an open frontier of several hundred miles, and as General Hull declared in his famous proclamation "separated by an immense ocean and an extensive wilderness from Great Britain," did not contain 80,000 white residents. Many of these too, were immigrants from the United States of very doubtful loyalty. The fact that some of them actually did sympathize with and assist the invaders is not ignored by Mr. Lucas, who justly remarks that there is nothing in this to make his readers "revise their views of Canadian patriotism."

Craig, a more resolute and experienced soldier than Prevost, with double his force of regular troops, had limited his hopes to the successful defence of Quebec and Halifax, consoling himself with the reflection that as long as these places were not taken Canada was not conquered. Brock's correspondence shows that he was frequently reduced to the point of despair. So gloomy was the outlook that the editor of the "Naval Chronicle" writing in September, 1812, when General Hull's proclamation had just come into his hands, remarked that "this may prove the forerunner of the fall of Canada which once gone will never in all probability return to the English Crown any more than Hanover."

Brock's prompt and energetic action in directing an immediate movement against Mackinac was followed by the

most important results. The American garrison of that distant and isolated outpost was completely surprised and surrendered without resistance, clearing the way for a general uprising of the neighbouring Indians which instantly paralysed the American army of invasion on the Detroit frontier and placed it on the defensive. Profiting at once by his command of Lake Erie and an interior line of communication by land, Brock lost no time in pushing his whole disposable force in that direction, and by rare vigour and audacity he intimidated his opponent into a capitulation. A leader of less ability would scarcely have risked so much, but he had grasped the truth of the maxim that war cannot be carried on without taking risks. His success not only secured Upper Canada from all fear of molestation in that quarter for months to come, but enabled him to withdraw the greater part of his small body of regular troops for the defence of the Niagara, where they were badly needed. His dramatic death at Queenston will long be associated in the remembrance of Canadians with another memorable victory, a national achievement of which he was the special hero.

Colonel Henry Procter, who succeeded to the command of the division guarding the Detroit river, was a man with less military ability and of weaker fibre, yet he had soldierly qualities and on some critical occasions displayed undeniable energy and decision. His prompt and vigorous stroke at General Winchester's force on the river Raisin in January, 1813, was rewarded with entire success, and his subsequent advance against General Harrison on the Miami might have been quite as fortunate, had it not been delayed by stormy weather, which prevented his militia from assembling at the appointed time. On no occasion did he manifest the slightest hesitation to assume the offensive in the face of a far superior force, in order to secure his own position, and he repeatedly solicited reinforcements in the most urgent terms to enable him to strike a decisive blow at the American naval depot on Lake Erie. For the failure to supply him with means to

do this and maintain his naval supremacy, Prevost has often been unjustly blamed. But as Mr. Lucas remarks :

" Geography was at the root of the matter. It was the remoteness of Lake Erie from the source of British supplies, the slowness and difficulty of communication compared with the contiguity of the Americans to their base, which gave the advantage and the victory to the latter " (p. 114).

After the loss of the Lake Erie squadron, Procter, yielding to the vehement protests of the Indian leaders, unwisely lingered at Amherstburg contrary to his own better judgment, and the conduct of the retreat was scandalously negligent. Nearly all the officers acted as if they were hopelessly dispirited and unnerved. The men were worn out with fatigue and hunger while the numerical superiority of the enemy had become irresistible. Procter's plain duty was to retire out of striking distance as quickly as possible and join the division on the Niagara. He had been allowed ample time to do this without loss or discredit. As Mr. Lucas states :

" The wonder is not that Lake Erie and the Detroit frontier were lost when they were lost, but that in view of the miserably inadequate resources on the British side, the distance from the base of supplies and reinforcements and the difficulty of communication, Barclay and Procter had held their ground so long " (p. 118).

It is further worthy of remark that both Perry and Harrison failed to follow up their victories, and that these were accordingly barren of any permanent result except the recovery of Detroit. Procter, with a fragment of the 41st Regiment and the greater part of his Indians, joined the central division, enabling it to resume the offensive a few weeks later, while Mackinac remained in the hands of the British to serve as a rallying point for the Indians of that region.

For the moment, however, the position of Upper Canada seemed critical, if not desperate. The right division having been routed and the American squadron having gained temporary control of Lake Ontario nearly at the same time, the centre division, encumbered with many sick men and much heavy baggage, was forced to retire slowly over the worst of roads from Niagara towards Burlington, while an American army of double its numbers under convoy of their shipping began its movement by water against Kingston and Montreal

and another formidable force was advancing by the historic route of invasion from Lake Champlain. But the winds and waves of Lake Ontario came to the rescue, and a month elapsed before Chauncey and Wilkinson were able to re-assemble their scattered vessels at Grenadier Island. When they abandoned their design upon Kingston and passed down the St. Lawrence, it was a positive stroke of genius to detach a small body of picked troops from that garrison in light gun-vessels to pursue and harass them. This brought on the brisk engagement at Chrysler's Farm, where an advancing army was forced into the singular position of fighting a rearguard action in which they took the offensive and were sharply repulsed. But this affair would not necessarily have terminated the campaign had not Hampton's division received a check on the Chateauguay river two weeks before, which afforded its commander a plausible excuse for refusing further co-operation in an undertaking never really approved by him.

Sir Gordon Drummond, who had by this time assumed command in Upper Canada, seized this opportunity to storm Fort Niagara and sweep all before him on the American side of the river, retaliating with fire and sword for the destruction of Canadian villages and farmhouses. These astonishing and unhoped-for successes raised the spirits of the troops and loyal inhabitants to the highest pitch, but even in the hour of victory Prevost did not fail to inform the Secretary for War in the most significant manner that "the very great exertions made for the preservation of the Canadas by its population, in conjunction with the small force under my command, may eventually degenerate into indifference for the result of the present contest unless the support from the Mother country is equal to the magnitude of the stake."

His warning was at length taken so much to heart that in May, 1814, nearly sixteen thousand veteran troops no longer required for service in the south of France, were placed under orders to embark for Canada. Even then the first division of this force arrived in the St. Lawrence too late

to oppose another invasion of the Niagara peninsula, and the difficulty of supplying so large an army might well have proved insuperable had not the commissariat department succeeded in drawing provisions from the adjacent states of New York and Vermont in the face of most strenuous efforts of the American commanders to prevent it. Two-thirds of the British forces in Canada, it was officially stated, were eating beef supplied by American contractors while the British squadron on Lake Champlain was being equipped with masts and spars through the same agency.

The chief advantage of the previous unsuccessful campaigns as far as the United States was concerned had been to train a considerable body of regular troops in actual warfare while the more incompetent officers of all ranks had been gradually weeded out. Although a considerable force was assembled at Plattsburg on Lake Champlain with the desired effect of retaining the main body of regular troops in Lower Canada, the American cabinet determined to limit the plan of campaign for 1814 to the conquest of Upper Canada. With this object an army of five thousand regulars, composed entirely of New York and New England regiments which had seen service, and two thousand volunteers and Indians, was directed to enter that province near Fort Erie under protection of their squadron on Lake Erie and march by the most direct route upon the supply depot at Burlington Heights, thereby cutting off the retreat of all troops stationed in the Niagara peninsula and eventually shutting them up in the three forts at the mouth of the river. At the same time the American fleet on Lake Ontario was placed under orders to transport another body of troops and a train of siege-guns from Sackett's Harbour to Niagara where it was to prevent the escape of the garrisons and assist in the siege. Execution of this scheme was disconcerted at the outset by the unexpected action of General Riall, who assembled his whole available field force behind the Chippawa and boldly marched out with inadequate numbers in the expectation of beating the advanced brigade

of the invaders before the others could come to its assistance. Instead of accomplishing this he met their whole army and was repelled with severe loss, but retired in good order and held them in check for several days, ultimately falling back upon Burlington after leaving a sufficient garrison in the forts. The American commander contented himself with advancing as far as Queenston where he awaited the appearance of the fleet for two weeks, making from time to time some feeble demonstrations against the British works. Learning at length that there seemed little probability of any immediate co-operation on the lake he determined to retire to Chippawa in the hope of drawing Riall forward to Niagara and thus enabling him to make a sudden dash upon Burlington. All this time a flotilla of small British ships of war was industriously engaged in transporting troops and stores across the lake from York. Without their efficient aid Drummond would not have been able to undertake offensive operations and fight the desperate and well contested night-battle at Lundy's Lane, which was so far decisive that the Americans were compelled to retire within their entrenchments at Fort Erie until it was too late to accomplish anything in the field.

Prevost's movement against Plattsburg on the other hand not only resulted in the decisive defeat of the British squadron on Lake Champlain, but also in such a convincing demonstration of his incapacity as a military commander that he became effectually discredited. This ignominious failure has done much to obscure the memory of his merits and former services, which Mr. Lucas has endeavoured to appraise with candour and justice.

"Sir George Prevost did good work for England in difficult and dangerous times ; and he did good work for Canada in that, amid the throes of national crisis, he held the confidence of the French-Canadians. His instructions, his temperament and the exigencies of the situation made him cautious to a fault. To defend rather than to invade and not to attack unless the fleet could support the army, were in the special circumstances of time and place excellent principles for general guidance. But Prevost applied them in season and out of season until he lost the power of initiative. As a leader in the field he was wanting in nerve ; he had none of the instinct which grips the occasion, strikes quick and hard, and extorts success. Outside the battlefield his merits were not few or small, and he deserves to be remembered for good as well as for the Plattsburg expedition" (p. 213).

Comparatively little space is given to incidents of the war not directly connected with Canada, but it is interesting to note that the author forcibly defends the destruction of the public buildings at Washington on grounds of both "expediency and justice" as an act of retaliation.

"The colonial history of Great Britain records that the rights and wrongs of the colonies have not always been fully weighed when war and peace with some foreign nation have been in the balance. This at any rate was one instance to the contrary. York might be a tiny capital, the British settlers might be few in number, it might be expedient to be generous and forbearing in dealings with the United States in order to cultivate their good graces for the time to come ; but whether the burning of the Washington buildings was right or wrong, whether it was politic or whether it was not, Lord Liverpool's government in taking the responsibility for it, consciously or unconsciously, acted on a sound, wholesome, and not ungenerous instinct that the wrongs of the colonies should be requited upon the wrongdoers not less, but more than if they had been directly inflicted upon the motherland herself" (p. 233).

In Great Britain the history of this contest is little known and gladly ignored as a mischievous and profitless struggle between kindred nations, but Mr. Lucas finds it full of interest and instruction in a military point of view and with respect to colonial affairs "fruitful of issues of vital importance."

"In no war were the merits and defects of citizen soldiers more clearly to be seen or the priceless value in the early stages of such a war of a nucleus of trained men. No other war was so amphibious in character, for in no other part of the world is such water communication to be found as in the land which was the main scene of the fighting. The war of 1812 proved, as the Boer war has again in our own time shown, the extraordinary difficulty of conquering a large territory, even if most sparsely defended ; and it proved to demonstration the value of sea-power. If in the single ship engagements the English often took the second place, none the less they were masters of the sea, and this one fact alone made the success of the American plan of campaign absolutely impossible" (p. 257).

E. CRUIKSHANK

About one-third of the new volume of the *Documentary History of the Campaigns on the Niagara frontier in 1812-14** is composed of papers from the Military Correspondence, Admiralty Papers or Colonial Office Records of which the originals or transcriptions are in the Canadian Archives. Scarcely any of them have been printed before. Sixty-five

**The Documentary History of the Campaigns on the Niagara Frontier in 1812-14.* Volume vii (August to October, 1813). Collected and edited for the Lundy's Lane Historical Society by Lieut.-Col. E. Cruikshank. Welland : Tribune Office, 1905. Pp. 300. Two plans.

letters are from the Navy Department records at Washington, none of which have ever been published. Other documents have been obtained from the Tompkins Papers in the New York State Library, the Porter Papers in possession of the Buffalo Historical Society and letters in the possession of Miss Catherine Claus, Hon. P. A. Porter, Dr. W. H. Merritt, Messrs. James Scott, G. M. Jarvis and E. Freer. Garrison and Militia order books, the field memorandum-book of Lieut.-Col. J. B. Glegg, and the diary of Thomas McCrae have also been drawn upon. A number of documents have been reprinted from the American State Papers, the Historical Register and Wilkinson's Memoirs, and extracts are given from contemporary newspapers published at Montreal, Quebec, Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Canandaigua, New York, Philadelphia and Washington. A plan of the naval action of August 9th, 1813, on Lake Ontario is reproduced from the Tompkins Papers and another of outpost operations at Niagara from the Claus Collection. The work is done with Colonel Cruikshank's usual careful and accurate scholarship. No one else has so completely mastered the material for this period of Canadian history or treated it in so impartial and scientific a spirit.

The Journal of Robert Lucas, published by the Iowa State Historical Society* from the original manuscript, is a contemporary document of great interest and value, dealing with General Hull's campaign in the War of 1812, and throwing much light upon certain obscure points. The author of the Journal was at one and the same time a brigadier-general in the Ohio militia, a captain in a regiment of United States infantry, and a volunteer for special service with General Hull, and thus had exceptional opportunities for observation and gaining information which he carefully noted in his diary on the spot. In May, 1812, he was employed by Hull as his confidential agent to go from village to village and deliver

*_The Robert Lucas Journal._ (The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, July, 1906, pp. 342-437.)

messages to the Indians of Ohio and Michigan soliciting their good will and assistance in his march through their territory, and threatening them in the event of a refusal with the most exemplary punishment. Having accomplished this mission, Lucas returned to Hull's army at Fort Necessity with important information and despatches from Detroit, and remained with it until the capitulation took place by which he became a prisoner of war. Each day's events are scrupulously chronicled as they occurred, and his narrative, although naturally showing a strong bias, seems, as far as it can be tested by other contemporary accounts, to be remarkably accurate. In the main it is restricted to matters that came within his personal knowledge. It is worthy of remark that Colonel Cass in his well known letter to the Secretary of War of the 10th September, 1812, which laid the foundation for Hull's trial by court martial, in several passages adopts the exact phraseology of the Journal. The manuscript has been printed verbatim and is acceptably annotated by the editor, Mr. John C. Parish. In after life, General Lucas was twice elected Governor of Ohio, and subsequently appointed the first Governor of Iowa.

Life and Letters of the First Earl of Durham, 1792-1840. By Stuart J. Reid. London : Longmans, Green & Co., 1906. 2 Vols. Pp. xviii, 409 ; x, 409.

Mr. Reid's Life of Lord Durham has been long expected. It was known that the present Lord Durham had given free access to his grandfather's papers to Mr. Reid, and since the events associated with Lord Durham's work in Canada were stormy and, at the time, reticence would be necessary, it was not unnatural to suppose that comething piquant would be forthcoming. This expectation is doomed to disappointment. There is nothing startling in the present book, for already we know most of what we find here. It is not that Mr. Reid has no new material. He has used both Lord Durham's and Lady Durham's correspondence. Charles Buller wrote

a narrative of the Canadian mission which is still in manuscript and to this also Mr. Reid has had access. None the less the effect of his writing is a little stale. One cause is that Mr. Reid has not sifted his material very thoroughly ; another is that Durham's mission, attracting, as it did, such widespread attention at the time, was thoroughly discussed in the contemporary press and there is not much about it, even in private papers, not already debated. Still needed is the historian to take the available material and from it construct a really effective narrative of the times. This Mr. Reid, in spite of his enthusiasm and his industry, has not done. He hardly understands Canadian conditions and he is always an apologist for his hero—defects upon which the Muse of history is rightly somewhat severe.

Durham's contemporaries, his father-in-law, Lord Grey, Melbourne, Palmerston, Lord Stanley, afterwards Lord Derby, were all prime ministers and all are classic names in English history. In the popular mind Durham hardly ranks with any one of them in fame. Yet he was their strenuous contemporary, and of them all it is probable that Durham—"Radical Jack"—had the strongest hold upon the masses of England who were struggling for political freedom. Miss Martineau, who knew Durham well, writes of him with high praise ; so does Macaulay's biographer ; Greville speaks maliciously of him whenever he can, and Creevey, the latest of the diarists of the time to become known, has a good many ill-natured passages about Durham. He was one of those striking personages who are always interesting. He had an income of some £80,000 a year and loved pomp and display ; he was a radical who yet coveted and secured high rank in the peerage ; and wherever he was his brilliant intellectual powers brought him to the front. But he had an irritable and arrogant temper that made him almost irresponsible at times. That the *Life* of a leader so conspicuous should not be written until nearly seventy years after his death is indeed singular ; that it should be written at all, in spite of such a lapse of time, is a tribute to the enduring character of Lord Durham's fame.

The only Cabinet in which Durham served was that of his father-in-law, Lord Grey. After the Reform Bill was passed, Durham, whose temper as a colleague may be guessed from his nick-name of "the Dissenting Minister," soon left the Cabinet. Later he was sent as Ambassador to St. Petersburg. After Grey's retirement Melbourne became leader of the Whigs and Melbourne would have none of Durham as a colleague. It happened opportunely that when Durham returned from St. Petersburg troubles broke out in Canada. Melbourne urged him to take up the statesman's task of settling the Canadian question and Durham, barred from a Cabinet position at home, reluctantly accepted. Mr. Reid gives seven chapters—about one-fourth of his book—to the Canadian mission. "The Cloud in the West" describes the circumstance of Durham's appointment ; the two on "Political Crisis in Canada" and "An Evil Bequest—the Political Prisoners" describe Canadian conditions ; that on "The Conduct of the Melbourne Government" is a severe indictment of the Prime Minister for failing to redeem his promise to give Durham unfailing support. Chapters on "The Disallowance of the Ordinance" and "The Question of the Prisoners at Bermuda" are discussions of the most controverted aspects of Lord Durham's work, while that on "Lord Durham's Report" is an estimate of the great state paper on which Durham's fame as a constructive statesman must chiefly rest.

In 1837 the Whig leaders wished, if they decently could, to break the political tie with Canada : half a century later their successors Gladstone and Granville were ready to do the same thing. On the other side the leaders were no more enlightened. Both parties thought colonial self-government impossible ; the Duke of Wellington said sententiously that "local responsible government and the sovereignty of Great Britain were completely incompatible." It shows the prescience of Durham that we never get from him the note of despair. He charges in his Report that the British colonies have never been governed well and says bitterly that the

experiment of giving them good government ought at least to be tried. But always he has confidence that free institutions will promote not separation but union. It is here that we see his real greatness as compared with the timid hesitancy of Lord John Russell. Durham was in Canada only about five months. Mr. Reid discusses fully, even with some prolixity, the chief problems with which he had to deal ; yet, in spite of detail the personality of the chief figure on the canvas is dim. We get no vivid conception of the pomp which Durham contrived to keep up at Quebec, and which startled Canadian society, of the eagerness with which he threw himself into his work, of his ill-health and irritability, his outbursts of nervous impatience, at times of his arrogant *hauteur*. We hardly see the real Durham, generous, sincere, with that rarest quality of politicians, courage, but often difficult and impracticable. Instead, Mr. Reid gives us a lay figure faultlessly arrayed. Always when any one differs from his hero, it is the critic, not Durham, who is in the wrong.

Mr. Reid has what we think must be regarded as conclusive reasons to show that the Report is in the main the work of Durham himself. The statement that to what every one admitted to be a very able document Durham contributed only his signature is due to the malice of Brougham. For some time after his return to England Durham was occupied with the Report to the exclusion of other interests, and this shows that he gave to it his best energies. Whatever composite workmanship the Report shows, Durham contributed the dominant unifying element of his own thought.

Perhaps the Report, admirable in style and able as it is, has been a little over-praised. It shows that Durham had no final vision as to the solution of Canada's problems. He wished the French element to be swamped by the English and in the end to be anglicized ; he supported too not federation but legislative union in Canada. In both respects time has shown that he was wrong. The French element, crushed for a time after 1837-38, knew that its extinction was desired

and in time asserted itself in such a way as to make government by the English element impossible. This rendered futile one of Durham's hopes. Moreover the union which he planned completely failed ; a federation has taken its place, and, allowing as it does freedom and dominance to the French in their own province, it has removed from active politics the spectre of racial strife in a way impossible under Durham's plan of English dominance over so powerful a minority.

Mr. Reid makes some slips. Mr. Brymner was the Canadian Archivist, not "Architect" (I : xi); Stephen Fox was not "English Ambassador," but British Minister at Washington (I : 55) ; Mr. Reid apparently thinks that the English are no longer "in a hopeless minority" in the province of Quebec (II : 331) ; that they are still so is a proof of a failure of a part of Lord Durham's plan. It is a little lenient to style "a social indiscretion" (II : 160) Gibbon Wakefield's conduct, which involved imprisonment as a criminal. Prince "Edward's" Island (II : 297) is a form unknown in Canada. Mr. Reid thinks that the American Revolutionary War broke out only after the Declaration of Independence (II : 170). Citizens of the United States smile when they are spoken of as "American subjects" (II : 192). The grammar is not always above suspicion, sentences are awkwardly constructed, there is a good deal of repetition and padding. In truth the great book on Lord Durham has not yet been written. It is a singular coincidence that Lord Grey's grandson is now Governor-General of Canada while Lord Durham's grandson is Colonial Secretary.

Lord Durham and Colonial Self-Government, by Miss Violet R. Markham*, shows no special knowledge. It is sometimes inaccurate and is really a plea, based on Lord Durham's attitude towards the French in Canada, against handing over South Africa to Boer control.

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*Nineteenth Century and After, June, 1906, pp. 914-923.

Confederate Operations in Canada and New York. By John W. Headley. New York and Washington : The Neale Publishing Company, 1906. Pp. 480.

The author of this rather singular volume served during the earlier part of the American Civil War in a Confederate cavalry regiment in Tennessee and Kentucky, eventually rising to the rank of captain. During this time he appears to have been chiefly employed in the "impressment" of horses from Unionists and in pillaging post-offices. His activity in this line may have been considered as qualifying him for "the special duty in Canada" for which he was selected in September, 1863, with instructions to report to Mr. Jacob Thompson, the Special Commissioner for Canada, who had established his headquarters at the Queen's Hotel in Toronto. The original decision of the conspirators who assembled there was to attempt the release of many thousands of Southern prisoners of war confined at Chicago, Johnson's Island, Elmira, and other places near the lakes, and at the same time to promote an insurrection in the Northern States in conjunction with a secret organization known as "The Sons of Liberty". The fact that they were thus outrageously abusing the hospitality of the country in which they had found shelter, for many of them were escaped prisoners, did not trouble them at all. Two small steamers were captured on Lake Erie, but their plans for the liberation of the prisoners all came to nothing. Later on a party of these men robbed a bank at St. Albans, Vt., and it was attributed to them that some steamers were mysteriously destroyed at St. Louis. Plans were likewise laid for the destruction of the principal cities of the North by simultaneously setting fire to large buildings in different quarters.

In respect to his part in these transactions Mr. Headley has no qualms of conscience. He was one of the party detailed for the destruction of New York and relates that he set fire to the Astor House and three other large hotels while his companions were similarly employed elsewhere. He after-

wards participated in an unsuccessful attempt to wreck a passenger train near Buffalo which was believed to have some Confederate prisoners on board. It is not surprising that these deeds were denounced by the Federal authorities as "abhorrent to the moral sense" and "inconsistent with all rules of honourable warfare" and that General Dix issued a general order instructing all military commanders on the frontier

"in case further acts of depredation and murder are attempted whether by marauders or persons acting under commissions from the Rebel authorities at Richmond, to shoot down the depredators if possible while in the commission of their crimes, or if it be necessary with a view to their capture to cross the boundary between the United States and Canada, said commanders are directed to pursue them wherever they may take refuge, and if captured they are under no circumstances to be surrendered, but are to be sent to these headquarters for trial and punishment by martial."

President Lincoln however as soon as he was made acquainted with this order amended that part of it authorizing pursuit into neutral territory, and averted any danger of collision with Canadian authority in that respect. Beall and Kennedy, two of the men concerned in the execution of these nefarious projects, which Mr. Headley lamely attempts to justify as retaliation for the devastation of the South in open warfare, were shortly afterwards captured and executed.

With scarcely an exception the persons concerned appear to have been men of good education, respectable antecedents, and high courage. Several of them have since attained considerable distinction in various walks of life. Bennet H. Burleigh became a distinguished war correspondent and a member of Parliament for one of the divisions of Glasgow. Dr. Blackburn was afterwards twice elected Governor of Kentucky, and Mr. Headley himself has been Secretary of State for that State. Bennet H. Young, leader of the St. Albans' raid, is an eminent lawyer and has written a book on "The Battle of the Thames" noticed in this REVIEW last year.

E. CRUIKSHANK

George Brown. By John Lewis. Toronto : Morang & Co., Limited, 1906. Pp. xv, 281. (Makers of Canada).

Mr. Lewis has special qualifications for writing the life of the founder of the "Globe" newspaper for he was himself long connected with that journal, under the tradition of Brown's leadership, and is in keen sympathy with Brown's political views. His "Life" is dignified and restrained in tone and the literary style is excellent. The book is, indeed, one of the best in the series to which it belongs. George Brown will rank in history as one of the most important of the "Makers of Canada." His career came at a time when the lines were being laid which should determine the course of Canadian development ; he knew his own mind and fought strenuously for his ideals with noteworthy effect.

When George Brown's career began the Canadian newspaper press was very weak. It needed a strong daily and Brown gave it *The Globe*, which is probably still, apart from all questions of party, the leading Canadian newspaper. With this weapon Brown was able to play an effective part in issues vital to Canada. Should the new country be as nearly as possible an exact copy of the old, ruled by a political oligarchy, with a state Church, and with education under the control of the churches rather than under that of the state ? Should Canada be always a mere colony or should its foundations be laid so that it might become a nation ? On these questions Brown took views that time has justified. He fought for Canadian self-government on a democratic basis ; he fought for free public education. He saw that for her true destiny Canada needed the great west, and he pressed this question when public opinion upon it was indifferent. He saw too that the federation (may we not now adopt the word used everywhere except in Canada and abandon the provincial term "confederation" ?) of the Canadian provinces was vital to national life and to promote it he made heavy personal sacrifices. For him Canada's ultimate relations with

Great Britain were to be those of " a friendly nation " (p. 171), and more than forty years ago he was urging that Canada should do her duty in regard to imperial defence (p. 174). Brown saw then more than has yet been realized : indeed from some things that he hoped for we are further away than ever. He was a free trader and wished freer trade relations with the United States : one of the disappointments of his life was the failure of the negotiations for reciprocity in trade which he carried on at Washington. In some things Brown was a little hard and narrow. His vehement attacks on Roman Catholicism were not wise in a country where Catholic and Protestant must learn to live in peace side by side. His tone towards the fresh and generous enthusiasm of the " Canada First " party in 1874 was harsh and unsympathetic. Brown attacked vehemently their plans for completer Canadian independence, though this very thing was among his own ultimate ideals ; and he advised the young promoters of the national movement to " tarry in Jericho until their beards be grown " (p. 236). Undue vehemence in attack was one of the defects of Brown's strenuous qualities and he was as ready to use it against those who were half his friends as against the enemy himself.

The most important of all Brown's tasks was the part he played in connection with Canadian federation. There is no doubt that Brown was to the front in advocating this, when Macdonald, its supposed author, lingered in the background. Mr. Lewis thinks that there was, at the time, serious danger lest, with a vast army flushed by recent victory over the South, and with public feeling embittered against Great Britain, the United States might have attempted the conquest of Canada. This fear accounts in part, perhaps, for the passionate desire of some of the Canadian leaders for union, and it may have been their justification to themselves for the high-handed way in which the project was carried through. To-day we should not dare to attempt the forcing of Newfoundland to join Canada in the way that Nova Scotia was coerced,

in opposition to public opinion in that province. Yet the result has apparently justified the methods of the time. The unsatisfactory constitution of the Canadian Senate is another result of the hurry of those days. A number of gentlemen gathered round a table made compromises with each other that were necessary if they were to continue to meet. But public discussion and public opinion would have improved some of their conclusions. Brown defended warmly the Senate which was set up, with its members appointed for life by the government of the day, but the institution was really out of harmony with his Liberal creed (p. 164). The Senate, while doing no doubt much useful work of detail, has never commanded public confidence in Canada. Had it been organized on an elective basis, similar for instance to that of the present French Senate, it could have played a useful part in Canadian public life.

Mr. Lewis is occasionally a little careless. He uses of himself now the third, now the first person, in the Preface (p. x). Sir Edmund " Bond " Head is a bad blunder (p. 101). He speaks of newly appointed ministers *resigning* their seats when of course they necessarily vacated them (p. 105). In discussing the dangers of centralization (p 207) he gives the impression that it was Sir Oliver Mowat who began resistance to Sir John Macdonald's attacks on the powers of the provinces. In point of fact Mr. Edward Blake had continued this work in Ontario for four years, after 1867, before Sir Oliver Mowat became Prime Minister of the Province, and later both at Ottawa and in the courts Mr. Blake was a most effective champion of provincial rights and did more than any other single person to make clear the limitations of the powers of the federal government. But Mr. Lewis is a practised writer and he has written an interesting book. One lays it down with the feeling that convictions and enthusiasm in regard to great public questions have decayed in Canada since Brown's day. The present generation, secure in its rights, has of principles a grasp less firm, with resultant slackness and indifference that favour political decay.

*Memories of Confederation**, though only a pamphlet, is important because it is by an actor in the events chronicled. In effect Sir Richard Cartwright says that the three men in the older Canada who did most to bring about federation were George Brown, Sir George Cartier, and Sir A. T. Galt. The chief credit is usually given to Sir John Macdonald, but in fact Macdonald, a very cautious man, was doubtful of the effect of the movement upon the fortunes of his party and only took it up on pressure from his Quebec allies. The *Trent* affair endangered Canada's independence. There is no doubt that at the time of the *Trent* difficulty Mr. Lincoln was strongly urged to come to terms with the South and to seize Canada. Sir Richard Cartwright says :

> " Many years later in Washington the writer was assured by a very eminent American statesman that this proposition had been seriously debated. According to his informant the deciding factor in the case was the alarm felt at the threatened invasion of Mexico by an Anglo-French and Spanish force, and the well-grounded apprehension felt by the United States authorities of the ulterior designs of the Emperor of the French. This, coupled with the conviction that the recognition of the South meant the loss of all effective control over Central America and the possible Isthmian Canal, turned the scale decidedly in favour of peace. . . . . A witty friend of the author was wont to maintain that the true father of Confederation was neither Brown, Cartier, nor Macdonald, but Captain Wilkes, U.S.N., and it is certain the incident had a very great effect " (p. 4).

With the deadlock between the two provinces composing the older Canada wise men saw that union was necessary if Canada was to remain British. Sir Richard Cartwright has given a vivid and authoritative account of the genesis of the movement.

A pamphlet entitled *Chronology of Canadian History*, by Mr. J. Castell Hopkins,† is primarily a chronology of Canadian political events. It is lacking in detail in regard to the distinctive economic and social facts of Canadian development. In attempting to be exhaustive the author at times appears to

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**Memories of Confederation, A Chapter of Canadian History.* By the Right Hon. Sir Richard Cartwright. Ottawa : The Canadian Club, 1906. Pp. 15.

†*Chronology of Canadian History from Confederation in 1867 up to the end of 1900.* By J. Castell Hopkins. An appendix to the Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1905. Pp. xxxviii.

have in mind the principle that no date is without its event. It is, however, of assistance as a reader's guide for more intensive study of Canadian history.

Though Lord Granville was Colonial Secretary there is very little in his Memoirs* relating to colonial policy. Occasionally we find an interesting statement. " In the course of time and in the most friendly spirit " he wrote in 1869 " the Dominion should find itself strong enough to proclaim her [*sic*] independence " (II : 22). Lord Granville had some part in the negotiations for the purchase of the Hudson Bay Territory by Canada.

" Lord Kimberley had been a governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. The day the arrangement was settled, there happened to be a Cabinet, and when the Ministers were seated at the table, Lord Granville threw across the table to him a half-sheet of paper with this question written upon it, ' What is your sincere opinion ? Is there any possibility of settling the Hudson's Bay Company by an amicable arrangement ? ' Lord Kimberley answered, ' My sincere opinion is that there is very little chance.' On getting Lord Kimberley's answer, Lord Granville good-humouredly informed him that a settlement had just been come to " (p. 25).

Mr. Mackenzie King's tribute to his dead friend Henry A. Harper† is a worthy memorial of a noble-hearted young Canadian. While skating on the river at Ottawa in December, 1901, Harper by chance joined a small party in which was Miss Blair, daughter of a member of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Cabinet. Suddenly she and a friend who accompanied her were plunged into open water at the mouth of the Gatineau. Harper was following, and coming to the edge of the ice tried to reach Miss Blair with his walking stick. Seeing that this was vain

" Harper regained his feet, pulled off his coat and gauntlets, and prepared to risk his life in an endeavour to effect a rescue. In answer to entreaties [apparently from Miss Blair, struggling in the water] not to make the venture, that it meant certain death, he exclaimed, ' What else can I do ?' and plunged boldly into the icy current in the direction of Miss Blair. They perished together ; their bodies were found on the following morning, the one not far from the other " (p. 11).

**The Life of Granville George Leveson Gower, Second Earl Granville, 1815-1891.* By Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice. 2 vols. London : Longmans, Green & Co., 1905. Pp. xx, 543 ; xiv, 535.

†*The Secret of Heroism : A Memoir of Henry Albert Harper.* By W. L. Mackenzie King. Toronto : Fleming H. Revell Co., 1906. Pp. 161.

Harper's simple heroism attracted wide attention and in November, 1905, Earl Grey, the Governor-General, unveiled at Ottawa a monument to Harper, erected by public subscription. It took the appropriate form of a bronze Sir Galahad with the words :

" If I lose myself
I save myself."

The present volume consists chiefly of Harper's own letters and meditations, edited with excellent taste by his closest friend, Mr. King. They show both beauty of spirit and remarkable intellectual power. His noble death was not caused merely by generous impulse but was the fitting crown of a deep unselfishness that pervaded his whole life. Had Harper lived he would have won distinction. But, dying young, he did not live in vain : his splendid self-sacrifice will be an inspiration to many coming generations who ask the meaning of the worthy memorial on Parliament Hill.

Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society. Volume IX. Edited by Frank H. Severance. Buffalo, N.Y.: Published by the Society 1906. Pp. xiv, 238.

The bulky and well printed annual volume of the Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society contains as usual several interesting articles bearing on Canadian history. Mr. Frederick J. Shepard's account of the Johnson Island plot is well written, admirable in tone, and bears evidence of such wide and painstaking research that it may be taken as saying the last word on the subject. Mr. Severance's scholarly " Story of Joncaire " is noticed elsewhere. His " Tale of Captives at Fort Niagara " contains a list (with biographical notes) of upwards of three hundred persons who were detained as prisoners of war at that post during the French and British occupation, compiled through much patient investigation of manuscript as well as printed authorities. On the other hand, it is difficult to conjecture what justification can be offered for printing the rubbish which has been collected under the

title of " Papers relating to the burning of Buffalo and Niagara Frontier prior to and during the War of 1812." It probably contains as much misleading information as could possibly be found elsewhere in an equal number of pages. Miss Martha J. F. Murray's " Memoir of Stephen Louis Le Couteulx de Caumont," although somewhat meagre from lack of materials, seems to be a very careful piece of work, while a number of extremely interesting documents are printed as an appendix. Born in Rouen in 1756 Le Couteulx emigrated to the United States in his twenty-first year and eventually became a prosperous merchant in Albany where he entertained several eminent French travellers, among them the Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, La Fayette, Talleyrand and Volney. He was an ardent republican and entered heartily into a much discussed project for the re-conquest of Canada by the French. Information of his activity in this respect finally reached the British Government through Mr. Liston, their Minister Plenipotentiary in the United States, which was deemed of so much importance that it was at once transmitted by the Duke of Portland to Major-General Prescott, the Governor-General of Canada, in a letter of 7th June, 1798, marked "most secret." In consequence, orders were issued to all officers commanding frontier posts to apprehend M. Le Couteulx if he came within their power. In the autumn of 1800 he undertook a business journey to Detroit by way of Niagara and Fort Erie, strangely enough taking with him copies of some of his own letters referring to this conspiracy. On the 7th of October while at Fort George he was recognized and arrested by order of Lieut.-Colonel Macdonell commanding that garrison. The following translation of part of a letter addressed by him to Volney in December, 1797, is an interesting example of the incriminating documents found in his possession.

" I wish much, dear Countryman, that Canada should be wrested from the English. Six thousand French Soldiers would immediately take it from this haughty Nation. The poor Canadians groan under the yoke of the British Government and are their Beasts of Burthen. They keep them in ignorance and poverty. I wish with all my heart that the Directory

would send into the Gulph of St. Lawrence in the month of May next a Squadron of seven or eight ships of the Line with the number of soldiers above mentioned, and firearms and Ammunition for the good Canadians. From the information I have received from a number of good Republicans, as well Acadians as Canadians who have been true, France might reckon on thirty or forty thousand men who would immediately upon the disembarkation of the troops enroll themselves with alacrity. There are now at Quebec from twelve to fifteen hundred soldiers and [in] the rest of Lower and Upper Canada from two to three thousand, including both the English and Canadians. The latter would soon desert for the good cause which is that of Sacred Liberty. In a word the Canadians are really good and hospitable, but dupes of the English and Scotch who keep them in a state of dependence. The Directory, I dare to hope, will interest themselves in the fate of these good people who groan under the weight of abuses such as oppression, tythes, Corvées and other Shackles. The Canadians cannot forget that they are Frenchmen and they wish to a man to return under the French Government and to be free like their Brothers " (p. 450).

Le Couteulx was sent to Quebec where he was detained as a prisoner of war until the 29th of July, 1802, when he was released in consequence of the peace of Amiens.

The *Empire Review* (London : MacMillan & Co.) during 1906 had a number of articles on Canada, all somewhat slight. Mr. A. P. Silver has a sporting article on *Caribou Herds of Newfoundland* and Margaret Batchelor describes some amusing traits of *Chinese 'Help' in British Columbia.* Mr. J. S. Hart's *How to extend Canadian Trade* suggests closer trade relations with the West Indies.

The *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* (Lévis : P. G. Roy) is not only a Canadian " Notes and Queries " ; it contains in addition some long articles involving considerable research in Canadian history. The volume for 1906 has a number of such articles chiefly of biographical interest :—*Les Trois Frères Lanouiller, La Famille des Champs de Boishébert, Hertel de Rouville, La Famille Coulon de Villiers.* The last is printed separately and is reviewed elsewhere. The literary quality of the Bulletin is, as usual, excellent. It is a mine of suggestions in regard to the history of French Canada and sometimes its scope is broader still.

The *Canadian Magazine* (Toronto : Ontario Publishing Co.) did not contain many historical articles during 1906. The *Reminiscences of a Loyalist* (Colonel Stephen Jarvis) chronicles interesting experiences. Colonel Jarvis was born in Connecticut and after the Revolutionary War went to New Brunswick and thence to York (Toronto). From New Brunswick to York the journey, with his family, cost him £118. He gives an animated account of his adventures in relation to the pioneer life of that day, but they are chiefly personal in character. Mr. Norman Patterson writes on *The Indians of Canada*, showing that they are increasing in number, and Mr. F. Blake Crofton's *Nova Scotia and Imperialism* is really an account of the Hon. Joseph Howe's plan for imperial unity. Mr. Harold Sands's *One Hundred Years in British Columbia* is a well illustrated sketch of the history of that province. The few other historical articles are slight.

The *Revue Canadienne* (Montreal) for 1906 has a long article extending to some three hundred pages on *Le Saint-Laurent Historique.* This has since appeared in book form and from the title-page the author is revealed as Alphonse Leclaire, the editor of the *Revue Canadienne.* Beginning at Montreal the writer proceeds down the river to the mouth of the Saguenay and then up the Saguenay to Chicoutimi furnishing, as he journeys, valuable historical notes on each of the parishes. The photographic illustrations are very numerous, and though some are badly done the series is valuable for it includes buildings that have long since disappeared. The author is well informed, though a little credulous, on the history of the St. Lawrence parishes and his work forms an excellent guide for the traveller. Nowhere else can one get a better series of pictures illustrating the somewhat crude ecclesiastical architecture of French Canada. Many of the churches are very large, and an artistic spirit could have made them more impressive than they are. M. P. B. Casgrain has an interesting aritcle on *Cadet*, one of the accomplices of the

corrupt Intendant Bigot. M. Casgrain has identified the house of Cadet at Quebec and describes the magnitude of his trading operations. The son of a butcher at Quebec, he ended his days in the outward semblance, at least, of a noble of Old France. M. Casgrain praises his business capacity, and thinks he may have been unduly maligned.

In *La Nouvelle France* (Quebec) the Abbé G. Dugas describes the *Défense Héroique de soixante-sept Métis contre deux mille Sioux*, an incident of life in the great west in the year 1851. A Eudist father, Charles Lebrun, discusses the relations between *Le Vénérable François de Montmorency-Laval et le Vénérable Jean Eudes*, the founder of the order. The Abbé F. X. Barque discusses the curious question whether the Jesuits Brébeuf, Lalemant, Jogues were really martyrs in the formal sense of having died for the faith, or whether they should be considered as slain in war (*Nos Martyrs Canadiens sont-ils de véritables martyrs?*). *Port-Royal en 1650*, by Father Candide, is a description of that colony, now Annapolis, based chiefly on the Jesuit Relations. M. Raphael Gervais has a series of articles on M. Siegfried's " Le Canada " reviewed elsewhere in this volume. It is " un livre perfide." M. Gervais explains and defends at great length the position of the Roman Church in the province of Quebec of which he regards M. Siegfried as the assailant, and his articles have value as representing the ecclesiastical point of view. M. Roy's *Montmagny* we notice separately.

The *Badminton Magazine* for November, 1906, contains two articles on sport in Canada, *Salmon-fishing in Newfoundland*, by Lord Howick (pp. 490-497), and *Chicken-shooting in British Columbia*, by R. Leckie-Ewing (pp. 536-543). In *Temple Bar* for August an early English settler in western Manitoba describes under the title *Homesteading in the Canadian West* (pp. 116-136) the dishonesty of the land company which sold him a quarter-section on a map indicating roads,

villages, etc., when in reality there were none of these accessories of civilized life. A pleasant description of Lord Aberdeen's ranch in British Columbia is given in the *Pall Mall Magazine* for October by Olston Black under the title of *The Viceroy's Ranch* (pp. 491-496).

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) Newfoundland and the Maritime Provinces

American Fishing Rights and Newfoundland. Position of the Island Colony. By Sir Clement Kinloch-Cooke. (The Empire Review, November, 1906, Pp. 289-306.)

The Empire Review gives a long article to the Newfoundland fishery question as affecting American interests. It includes a succinct and valuable history of the whole question based upon close study of the *ipsissima verba* of original documents. The author minimizes the grievance which the colony has in regard to the recent *modus vivendi.* He adds, however,

> " It is often said, and I must confess with a certain amount of truth, that whenever Great Britain deals with the United States, more especially when the interests at stake are those of British North America, the United States generally scores most points. The fact is that our methods of diplomacy and the United States methods of diplomacy are as wide apart as the poles. The United States have very few interests to consider except their own, they are in fact a new world, with new men and new ideas. They have no tender spots, as is the case with Great Britain, to glide over, with the result that when they go in to win they are in a better position than we, and they never hesitate to take the utmost advantage of that position. Taking, then, everything into consideration, I cannot but think that the terms of the present *modus vivendi* are not so one-sided as they might have been, or as at first sight they appeared to be, and that instead of a surrender the Imperial Government have only yielded *when to push the point might have courted disaster* " (p. 306).

The italics are ours. What disaster does Sir C. Kinloch-Cooke refer to ? War with the United States ? He writes as if, in handling such matters, Great Britain were on the edge of a volcano. Now does any sensible person really think that the United States would incur the terrible risks of war over a detail of the negotiations in regard to Newfoundland ? Would they not, by war, lose a thousand times more than all the Gloucester fishing interests are worth ? It is plain that the talk of war in such matters is irrelevant and absurd. These questions should be settled on a strict interpretation of treaty and colonial rights and on that basis only. When British negotiators always show a fear of courting " disaster " they are playing into the hands of astute opponents who have no more thought of war than has Great Britain herself.

The little volume *Pêcheurs de Terre-Neuve** is a vivid account of a youth's experiences with the Newfoundland fishermen. The perils of the pursuit, the brutality of those engaged in it are described with abundant realism. The little volume is published by an ethical society and it ends with the appropriate moral that these hardships are a fine discipline of character, and that the Newfoundland fisheries furnish France with the best fighting material for her navy.

The claims of Newfoundland to recognition as a colony of great potential wealth are urged by Mr. P. T. McGrath.† The increase of its population and commerce within ten years compares favourably with that of Canada for the same period, and with the further opening up of the island by the railway the next ten years will probably see a much greater rate of progress. But Newfoundland has always been hampered by unwise political restrictions. It is only 130 years since it became lawful to build a permanent house on the island. The French Shore, now happily no longer more than a name, was a more recent prohibition to settlement, and now the fishery rights in Newfoundland waters obtained by the United States have proved a fresh stumbling-block to normal commercial and industrial progress. Mr. McGrath writes before the latest exhibition of British self-sacrifice in this unhappy question, or his language would doubtless be much stronger than it is. An earlier magazine article by the same writer gives an excellent account of the chief points involved in the fishery dispute.‡ Mr. McGrath writes impartially. The dispute, as he says, is "the outcome of the defective diplomacy of Britain in bygone days."

**Sur le Grand-Banc. Pêcheurs de Terre-Neuve.* (Récit d'un Ancien Pêcheur.) Préface de Paul Desjardins. Paris : L'Union pour l'Action Morale, 1905. Pp. xix, 152.

†*The Progress of Newfoundland.* By P. T. McGrath. (The World's Work and Play, June, 1906, pp. 55-65.)

‡*The Newfoundland Fishery Dispute.* By P. T. McGrath. (MacMillan's Magazine, January, 1906, pp. 231-40.)

An exploring expedition in the little-known interior of Newfoundland is described by Mr. J. G. Millais.* He traced the Gander river, the second largest river of the island, to its headwaters, and incidentally corrects the commonly accepted mapping of the region traversed.

The volume of excellent photographic views of various localities in Newfoundland and on the Labrador coast by Mr. R. E. Holloway† gives a very pleasing impression of Newfoundland scenery. There is a short introduction on the fisheries, minerals, sport and general attractiveness of the island for tourists and campers-out.

Mr. McGrath has an astounding account of the character and extent of the smuggling industry of which the head centre was, and is, St. Pierre.‡ Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Quebec and New England have all been recipients of smuggled liquors, perfumes, tobacco, opium and high-priced French goods shipped from St. Pierre. The author declares that east of Three Rivers in the province of Quebec there are no sales made by Canadian liquor dealers, so cheap and abundant is the supply from St. Pierre. The operation of the new treaty between France and England, under which a British consul is to be appointed at St. Pierre, promises to reduce materially the proportions of that island's commerce.

The poem of Evangeline has played a greater part than it deserves in the history of Nova Scotia and it is now made the plea for another book on the Acadians.§ The author

*_Central Newfoundland and the Source of the Gander River._ By J. G. Millais. (Geographical Journal, April, 1906, pp. 382-392.)

†_Through Newfoundland with a Camera._ By Robert E. Holloway. St. John's : Dicks & Co.; London : Sach & Co., 1905. Pp. 22, 115 plates.

‡_The Smuggler's Paradise._ By P. T. McGrath. (The Wide World Magazine, August, 1906, pp. 483-490.)

§_An Historical Sketch of the Acadians, their Deportation and Wanderings,_ together with a consideration of the historical basis for Longfellow's poem, "Evangeline." By George P. Bible. Philadelphia : Ferris and Leach, 1906. Pp. 205.

makes no pretensions to original research and the chief value of his book is in the illustrations of present-day scenes in Nova Scotia. He accepts without reserve the view that the Acadians lived an idyllic life and that the deportation was wholly brutal and unjustified. Those deported to the United States wished to be treated as prisoners of war.

> " In their stay of something over two years in Philadelphia they never made any attempt to help themselves ; they begged to be treated as prisoners of war, and sent back to Acadia or to France. They seem to have been utterly heart-broken and despondent " (p. 106).

When the Ashburton treaty was made an Acadian settlement —Madawaska—in New Brunswick was cut in two by the new boundary and some of the Acadians became American citizens. They still remain a remote community distinct from their American neighbours.

Memorials of the Rev. John Sprott. Edited by his son, the Rev. George W. Sprott. North Berwick, Edinburgh : George A. Morton, 1906. (Halifax, N. S.: T. C. Allen & Co.)

The subject of these Memorials, a Presbyterian minister, spent the greater part of his life as a preacher and missionary in Nova Scotia. He landed in St. John, New Brunswick, in 1818. During the next few years he preached in almost every part of Nova Scotia. He was then ordained and admitted to the pastoral charge of Windsor, Newport and Rawdon, in Hants County. In 1859 his jubilee was celebrated, but for more than eight years after that he continued to preach. He died in 1869 after having nearly completed his ninetieth year.

He was a contemporary of Haliburton and Howe. Like these, he knew every part of Nova Scotia, together with the characteristics of the people, among the older generation of whom his memory is still fragrant, and he was a man of intellect, witty, humorous, and with a vein of satire that he did not always repress. His style was graceful and at times poetical. He was an ardent lover of nature and his descriptions of scenery are excellent. It was chiefly in epistolary

composition that he excelled, and letters to the press and to his friends, as well as selections from his diary, make up these Memorials.

When he first arrived in Canada he wrote that he would probably marry soon and that this would be easy as there were ten women to one man; but he would prefer a Scottish girl, and above all, " Miss Jane N." The sequel is interesting. In his diary on the 17th of March, 1826, he reviews the events of recent years :

" Rapid changes. On St. Patrick's Day, 1821, I was in company with Miss Clarke, gathering evergreens in the woods of Windsor. On the same day, 1822, she was my faithful and affectionate wife. In 1823 she was in her last illness, and drank my health in a glass of wine. In 1824 I was a widower, rejoicing in the hope of soon getting Miss Charlotte Leslie. In 1825 I was happy as the beloved husband of Charlotte. In 1826 I am a widower without the intimate knowledge of any."

On the 14th of August of the same year he writes :

" Was this day united in marriage with Jane Neilson. The courtship was the shortest possible, but she was one of the companions of my youth. I would have married her earlier in life, but we were eight years separated by the pathless, foamy ocean."

The book is well worth reading for its truthful pictures of past times and for the kindly catholic spirit in which it is written.

Mr. J. E. White's book on the history of his family,* although not without many errors and imperfections, is an interesting record compiled by one who has passed the fourscore limit and who laments that in his early years his opportunities for literary acquirement were scanty. It traces the genealogy of that branch of the White family which came to New Brunswick with other loyalists in 1783. The record goes back to a family of Whites, who in 1670 left Deal in England and settled in Monmouth County, New Jersey. One of these was the ancestor of William White the loyalist. The latter soon after his arrival in New Brunswick made a home for himself on the shores of Grand Lake, where in common with other early settlers he endured many hardships. By

A Genealogical History of the Descendants of Peter White of New Jersey, from 1670, and of William White and Deborah Filton his wife, Loyalists. By James E. White. St. John, N.B., 1906.

dint of the industry and thrift of himself and wife, he laid the foundation of a prosperity which his descendants have since enjoyed. The author gives a quaint picture of the early struggles of these pioneers.

"Mrs. White often laid her babe away in some quiet spot and worked in the field side by side with her husband, doing her housework in the evenings. In the winter, she sometimes travelled across Grand Lake, five miles, on snowshoes, drawing grain loaded on a toboggan, which, after grinding in a hand-mill, she would take back to her home, quite satisfied, although the flour was doubtless not equal to Ogilvie's best."

The book is provided with a very complete index.

"The Judges of New Brunswick and Their Times," by Dr. A. A. Stockton, M.P., continues to occupy a prominent place in *Acadiensis*.* On its completion in the magazine it will be published in book form, and will make a valuable addition to the history of the Canadian judiciary. An exceedingly interesting history of the island of Miscou is contributed to the same magazine by Professor W. F. Ganong, and other articles are promised for future numbers, dealing with settlements on the "Gulf shore" or eastern coast of New Brunswick. Professor Ganong is a veteran explorer of his native province. He has personally investigated the Miscou of to-day, its territory and its people, and condenses original documents into a clear record of its past. The editor, Mr. D. Russell Jack, continues his interesting series on book plates, and there are various articles from his pen dealing with the striking events and the early families of New Brunswick.

**Acadiensis : A Quarterly devoted to the interests of the Maritime Provinces of Canada.* Edited by David Russell Jack. Vol. vi. St. John, 1906.

(2) The Province of Quebec

Les noms géographiques de la province de Québec. Par Pierre-Georges Roy. Lévis, 1906. Pp. 514.

There is always a certain curiosity about the origin of the geographical names of a country, and in a recently settled land like Canada it should not be difficult to elucidate them. The savages first left their mark ; then came the Basque or Breton fishermen. When the names given by these pioneers were short, sonorous and easy to pronounce they remained, for example, Canada, Quebec, Toronto, Labrador. Cartier, Champlain, Jean Alphonse took care to note the names they gave, whether these were rivers, promontories, capes, or lakes. In the valley of the St. Lawrence the first holders of land gave their family names to almost all their seigniories, Chambly, Verchères, Varennes, Contrecœur ; or they borrowed names from localities in old France, such as Gentilly, Longueuil. The regulation of 1722 imposed official names on the old parishes. In 1791 the establishment of representative government gave rise to names of counties, taken for the most part from towns or rivers in England. These names were increased in 1823, 1853 and 1867 as new Acts were put into force. The division of the regions into townships brought in a collection of almost identical names. The recognition of the canonical parishes in 1824 studded Quebec with the names of all the saints in the calendar. Several of the names given in the beginning have disappeared or have been transformed, but if one compares the maps left by Champlain, Bourdon, Villeneuve, Franquelin, Bellin, with those of Bouchette and with the more recent publications of the Crown Lands Department of Quebec and of the Department of the Interior at Ottawa it is always easy to find one's way. The really difficult thing is to find the true meaning of the Indian names.

Mr. W. F. Ganong has given us, regarding the origin of the names of the province of New Brunswick, a work which may be considered a model of its kind. We should like to be able to say as much of the book now under discussion. But

it is very far from being complete and exact. Let us at once say that it is a compilation in alphabetical order of certain geographical names of the province of Quebec gathered from French-Canadian authors. And this is the title which the book should have borne. The preface, which gives a sufficiently exact account of the etymology of the names in Quebec, is a reproduction of articles in *La Minerve* of 1874 signed "Ruricola." The compiler attributes these articles to the Abbé Bois, but in point of fact they were written by M. Raphael Bellemare. The explanation given of Indian names of places follows very closely an article by M. Eugène Rouillard which appeared in the *Bulletin du Parler français* in 1905, reprinted this year in book form and reviewed by us elsewhere. As to the more important names such as Anticosti, Saguenay, Canada, Quebec, Tadoussac, Rimouski, all the compiler does is to reproduce what well known authors like Sulte, Dionne, Buies and Edmond Roy have said. The spelling of Indian names is difficult, but here again the author should have followed the rules established by the Geographic Board of Canada. But he seems to trouble himself little about orthography, even in the case of the French words. Thus he writes Ghent (p. 226) instead of Gand, Pointe à Laccaille (p. 310) instead of Pointe-à-la-Caille, Baie des Chaleurs instead of Baie de Chaleur, Anse à Valleau, instead of Anse du Vallon, Moulin-à-Baude instead of Moulin Baude, etc., etc.

In the case of names given by Cartier and Champlain the compiler reproduces in their entirety the notes of Laverdière in his edition of the *Oeuvres de Champlain*, or those of Ferland in his *Histoire du Canada*. He never quotes the later writers such as Dr. S. E. Dawson, now a most important authority on the identification of Cartier's names. Often also when he quotes from Laverdière he introduces errors of his own. For example he says (p. 200) that Thevet came to Canada some time after Cartier. Thevet went to Brazil, not to Canada. The text of Thevet which he quotes is copied from Laverdière (p. 88). The compiler has apparently not

read it at first hand. The same thing occurs when he quotes Lescarbot or Hakluyt. It is always at second hand.

As to the names of the seigniories he omits a great many and for those which he gives he ought to have consulted *Titres de Concessions seigneuriales* published in 1853. He would have found there the source of a number of names which he queries. With this book before him he would have learned that Rigaud was named by the Governor Beauharnois in 1732, and Monnoir by Vaudreuil at the request of Madame de Ramezay in 1708, that the river Yamaska was called the river "des Savannes," in 1683, etc. It would require too much space here to make all the corrections of M. Roy's book that might be made from this one authority. As to the origin of the canonical names of the old French parishes the compiler ought necessarily to have consulted the Regulation of 1722 which settled them officially. For the parishes erected after 1759 he is ignorant also of the official list published in 1853, *Subdivisions du Bas-Canada en paroisses et townships.* Hence he makes mistakes and omissions without number. In regard to the names of rivers, lakes, and mountains he has to all appearance consulted the maps neither of Champlain, nor of Bellin, nor of Bouchette, nor those published by the government of Quebec, nor those of the Geological Survey of Canada. He never quotes from any of them. And he would have found in them a host of names omitted in his book which would have helped him to explain the origin of others which he does give. For example, instead of saying that Sir James LeMoine is wrong in thinking that the Pointe des Monts (Labrador) took its name from a group of mountains (p. 320), he would have seen had he consulted the old maps of Bellin that the place bore from the very beginning the name of Pointe des Monts Pellés. LeMoine is right, and it is M. Roy who is in error in attributing this name to De Monts, the companion of Champlain, who never went into that region. And how many more names are there in the maps of Bellin which might have afforded information, when one thinks that he named all the

rivers of the north shore of the St. Lawrence and that he does not trace a single creek or bay of the Saguenay as far up as Chicoutimi without giving it a name? And yet the compiler leaves us in ignorance of all this. So from Cap Tourmente to the mouth of the Saguenay, a region much frequented by tourists, he omits to tell us the names of the principal headlands such as Cap à la Gribanne, Cap Brulé, Cap à l'Abattis, etc., etc., and yet each of these promontories has a name which it would be interesting to know and which it would be easy to give. For example the strange name of the Cap à la Gribanne is easily explained when one knows that formerly the flat-bottomed boats of the Somme and the Seine were named thus. What pleasure also the reader would have in learning that the mountains called by the English the Laurentians and by the French Canadians Laurentides bore in 1641 on the map of Bourdon the name of the Pyrenees, and that the Côte de Beaupré was called at first La Nouvelle Biscaye. This proves clearly the presence of the Basque fishermen who gave their names to several places near La Malbaie. The compiler does not cite the names of more than half the rivers and lakes of the province of Quebec. He omits in the neighbourhood of Quebec St. Nicolas, St. Pierre, I.O., St. Lambert, L'Ange Gardien (Montmorency), St. Irénée, St. Hilarion, St. Siméon (Charlevoix Co.)

A word as to the author's method. He merely cites a name without telling us whether it is the name of a lake, a river, a mountain, a town or a hamlet. Under the word "Dorchester," for example, he says: "Lord Dorchester was one of the most popular governors sent out by England to administer its colony Canada." And that is all. He does not tell us to what natural feature or political division the name is applied. And further, in connection with the names borrowed from Englishmen of note or the saints, the author limits himself to a short biography, which it would be easy to find in almost any encyclopaedia. Of what importance is it to know when St. Cajêtan and St. Philemon lived? What

we should like to know is why and when these parishes received these names. Everybody knows who Haldimand was, but why does a village of Gaspé bear his name ? If the author had told us that this governor tried to settle his nephews there in 1784 he would have really explained the origin of the name. Regarding the word Pabos (Gaspé) there is a long dissertation. It would have been so simple to say that it is a well known Basque word and that it is quite natural to find it applied to a place frequented formerly by fishermen of that nation.

In addition to all the errors and omissions, some of which we have pointed out, there is the crowning fault that the book is not accompanied by any map. A geographical work without a map is a body without life, a hearth without heat, a lamp without oil. It is impossible for us to bestow any praise upon such a mechanical piece of work.

Notes historiques sur la paroisse de Saint-Thomas de Montmagny. Par l'Abbé F. E. J. Casault. Quebec : Dussault & Proulx, 1906. Pp. 448.

La paroisse de Saint-Romuald d'Etchemin. Par l'Abbé Benj. Demers. Quebec : J. A. K. Laflamme, 1906. Pp. 376.

The first of these publications is not properly speaking a parish history, not even a book in the true sense of the word, but merely the bare presentation in loosely chronological order of data concerning the church affairs of St. Thomas de Montmagny. Some of the material, which for the most part was collected from the archives of the Quebec Seminary, and particularly the correspondence exchanged between the curé Maisonbasse and Bishop Briand, is interesting, inasmuch as it gives an insight into the dealings of the French clergy with the British and colonial authorities, and the settlers generally, about the time of the conquest. St. Thomas de Montmagny is situated on the south shore of the St. Lawrence, a short distance below the city of Quebec, in a fertile and

prosperous farming country. It has produced or harboured some men of note, such as Sir E. P. Taché, once Prime Minister of Canada, the late Justice Fournier, of the Supreme Court, Sir L. N. Casault, Sir James LeMoine and Joseph Marmette.

Here was an opportunity for the vivid portrayal of a typical French-Canadian locality, and it is to be regretted that its would-be historian should have so restricted the scope of his inquiry and contented himself with preparing a dry catalogue of facts in connection with one feature only of its evolution. The lesson with which Abbé Casault concludes his little book is in keeping with the rest. While acknowledging that, as a rule, the people of Montmagny are duly respectful and deferential towards their priest, he trusts the reading of his " Notes " will have the effect of discouraging any desire on their part, should it ever arise, of resisting the priest or counteracting his designs. For him the life of the place is altogether inside the church. He has produced a crude compilation without order or logic.

The Abbé Demers' book, on St. Romuald d'Etchemin, is in many respects more satisfactory. True, a great deal of the information it contains is not first hand, having been taken, pages at a time, from Mr. J. E. Roy's " Histoire de la Seigneurie de Lauzon." (The territory now known as St. Romuald was originally comprised in the seigniory of Lauzon.) Over one hundred references to the latter work are given in the first 225 pages devoted to an account of the events previous to the erection of St. Romuald as a distinct parish. But this borrowed material, as well as the original data which make up the last 160 pages of the book,—that is the later history of the parish,—are presented in much more readable form than the " Notes " on St. Thomas de Montmagny reviewed above. Besides, the book gives evidence of a greater breadth of view and of a better sense of proportion than was apparent in the former case. It is much to be desired that writers of such monographs should rise above the special aims and views of

their calling. Few things are meaner than a parish history, unless broadened and uplifted by a generous and human interest in the welfare and social activities of the people at large.

Missisquoi is a county in Quebec bordering upon Lake Champlain ; Missisquoi Bay has played a considerable part in the military history of Canada. The First Report of the County Historical Society* is somewhat unsystematic in character, the chief discussion being one, with much divergence of opinion, upon the origin of the name Missisquoi.

By some strange inadvertence we find that we have omitted to notice Dr. Doughty's scholarly discussion of *The Probable Site of the Battle of the Plains of Abraham.*† Dr. Doughty bases his study on the evidence of those present at the time. He has himself an unrivalled knowledge of the site of the battle, and he has given methodical and scientific study to the question not merely in the spirit of an antiquarian, but always with a view to estimating military problems, such as Montcalm's wisdom or unwisdom in fighting Wolfe outside the walls of Quebec. Dr. Doughty's contribution remains the most convincing on the whole question. The article by this writer was followed by a keen discussion and, incredible as it may seem, while this discussion was going on, the Ross Rifle Company secured the right to build a factory upon the battle-field, almost over the dust of those who there had perished. There was a great outcry, and the latest phase of the question is the appointment by the Mayor of Quebec of a Commission consisting of the Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Quebec, of the Deputy Minister of Crown Lands, and of Major William Wood, well known as an

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**First Report Missisquoi County Historical Society.* News Print, 1906. Pp. 61.

†*The Probable Site of the Battle of the Plains of Abraham.* With plans and illustrations. By A. G. Doughty. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 2nd series, vol. v 1899, pp. 359-426.)

author, to report on the whole matter. This Commission has just issued its first Report* which differs greatly from what such documents usually are in that it contains some brilliant historical writing by the hand, we suspect, of Major Wood. It constitutes an eloquent appeal for the removal of the rifle factory, and other unsightly structures, and the turning of the whole area from the walls of Quebec to Wolfe's Cove into a great public park, to commemorate the approaching tercentenary of the founding of Quebec in 1608. We cannot bring ourselves to doubt that this will be done, and for beauty and historical interest the Park will be one of the most notable in the world. There English were victorious over French in 1759 and French over English in 1760; there the American General Arnold drew up in 1775 for the siege of Quebec his bedraggled men who had survived the horrors of the march by the Chaudière valley.

"There is no spot on earth of equal interest to all who speak the two great modern languages of French and English, and who are citizens of the three great world-powers of the British Empire, the United States, and France" (p. 37).

Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles de Charlesbourg, depuis la fondation de la paroisse jusqu'à nos jours. Par l'Abbé D. Gosselin. Quebec, 1906. Pp. xxxiv, 394.

Charlesbourg is that pretty parish whose white houses stretch up the gentle slope, in the foreground of the horizon of Quebec, between Beauport and Lorette, from the low plain watered by the River St. Charles to the first spurs of the Laurentians. The Intendant Talon, the best official that France sent to Canada, founded it in 1665 under quite peculiar conditions. It is well known that the first French grants in the country were carved out on each side of the River St. Lawrence, from Rimouski to Vaudreuil, in parallelograms of three *arpents* in width by forty in depth. The settlers built their houses on the river shore at regular distances of

**First Report of the Quebec Landmark Commission.* Quebec: 1907. Pp. 48

three arpents from each other. This arrangement in a country which as yet had no roads facilitated intercourse. On the other hand, scattered as they were, these houses easily became the prey of the Indians. The isolated settler remained without defence against the raids of the enemy. So Talon proposed to group the settlers in villages as people lived in France. He was a man in whom Colbert had confidence and he won Colbert over to his ideas. So the settlers received orders not to settle any more separately in the country, and efforts were made to demonstrate on the spot that the plan proposed by the Intendant Talon was easy of execution. Talon owned on the banks of the River St. Charles an estate which he had bought from the Hébert family, but since the property was in the form of a parallelogram like all the others, he added to it a large piece detached from the seigniory of Notre Dame des Anges which belonged to the Jesuits. Since the latter had been cut out of the wide forest, a hundred *arpents* of land more or less did not matter much. Out of this piece of land, Talon made three squares on which he traced sections of triangular form. The base of these triangles rested on the outer boundaries of each square and their sides met at the top at a common centre as the spokes of a wheel fit into the hub. Each of these squares, it will be understood, formed a village, and each of the sections as many farms. The houses of all the settlers were grouped at the centre at the summit of each farm. In 1667 Talon had already succeeded in settling three villages, two with families which he brought from France, another with discharged soldiers. Three other villages were formed later in the same region. It is thus that Bourg Talon, Bourg Royal, Bourg la Reine, L'Auvergne, St. Bernard and St. Claude were formed. To reward Talon, the King raised these settlements to the rank of a Barony (des Islets), then made of them the County of Orsainville, but only the name of Charlesbourg has been preserved.

Charlesbourg is the sole parish in French Canada which was founded under the immediate direction of the King and

with the topographical division of which we have just spoken. Taking into account this very special origin and the memories connected with Charlesbourg it seems as if there might have been an interesting history about it. One would particularly like to know the origin and the wanderings of those settlers chosen by Talon himself. But all efforts at a fitting history of this parish have hitherto failed, and the book now under review is no exception. The short historical notice which fills its early pages does not include one word on the peculiar origin which we have just related. Talon's name even is not mentioned in the entire work. For the author, who has been parish priest of Charlesbourg since 1899, the history of the parish begins only in 1679, the date of the opening of the registers of births, marriages and burials. He has seen nothing beyond them.

The book is merely a summary of the marriages inscribed on the registers of the parish, giving in alphabetical order the names of the persons who appear there. This is what the author calls a genealogical dictionary. We think that the title is too important for the book. For a complete genealogical tree it would have been necessary to give also the dates of the births and burials, and then to follow up the several branches as is done by professional genealogists. Hence the present work has no historical value.

The Abbé Gosselin's *Notes sur la Famille Coulon de Villiers*,* is the work of a conscientious investigator, written without pretention and drawn from the best sources, the author being archivist at the Seminary of Quebec. The Coulon de Villiers family claims descent from the famous Villiers de l'Isle Adam who was a grand master of the Order of Malta. M. Gosselin has been unwilling to take away from it that sweet illusion but he seems to have his doubts. The most famous of the Canadian members was Joseph Coulon

**Notes sur la famille Coulon de Villiers.* Par l'Abbé Amédée Gosselin. Québec, 1906. Pp. 110.

de Villiers, better known by the name of Jumonville. He was killed in 1754 in the battle of the Monongahela on the banks of the Ohio. French writers have always maintained that he was killed when he was covered by a flag of truce. The illustrious Washington commanded the enemy on that occasion, and has been accused of having murdered Jumonville against all the rules of war. But this story has been long since rejected by serious writers. There still exist descendants of the Coulon de Villiers family at New Orleans.

A new edition has been published of a genealogical table which appeared in 1895, the work of Alphonse Guibord, Brother Thomas of the Christian Brothers, one of the descendants of Antoine Guibord, a native of the province of Auvergne in France who settled at Champlain near Three Rivers. Since the marriage contracted by this settler in 1684 with Jeanne de la Rue seven generations have followed one another. From the ancestral tree have sprung innumerable branches which have taken root in the provinces of Quebec and Ontario, in Illinois, in Michigan, in Missouri, and in the New England States. Nothing is more curious than to follow the progress of this family through two centuries. There is nothing like these tables and these forests of figures to give us an idea of the prolific nature of the French race in Canada, of its expansive force and its endurance. It is noteworthy in this book that, after the second generation of those branches of the family which have emigrated and settled in the United States, the children take English Christian names : Jennie, Frank, John, Nellie, Maggie. The language-tie grows weak, connection with the relatives left at home ceases, the line of descent is broken ; which means that the French-Canadian settler who has crossed the boundary is lost to the race in the third generation, melted in the great American furnace.

**Notices généalogiques sur la famille Guibord.* Par le Frère Thomas (Alphonse Guibord). Ottawa, 1904. Pp. 42

M. P.-G. Roy writes the history of the Panet family,* the tenth volume of a series of genealogies of old, well-to-do families in the Quebec region. His method is always the same. First, he reproduces Tanguay (*Dict. généal.*) and Daniel (*Grandes fam. Can.*), and where these end, he patiently compiles the dates of births, marriages and burials, without even excepting still-born children or infants who died unweaned. Jean-Claude Panet, the first of the name, who came to Canada in 1740, was at first a soldier, then a notary, then a judge. He founded the Quebec branch. One of his brothers, Pierre-Louis, who came in 1746, founded the Montreal branch. This family has produced judges, bishops, politicians, and in later times soldiers. Amongst the best known we may mention . Jean-Antoine, first Speaker of the legislature of Quebec in 1792, Bernard-Claude, Bishop of Quebec (1806-1833) ; Pierre-Louis, Judge at Montreal (1795-1812) ; Philippe, Judge at Quebec (1832-1855) ; Charles-Eugène, Deputy Minister of Militia (1874-1898). In closing, the author gives an engraving of the armorial bearings of the Panet family. But he does not claim for it the rank of nobility. And this is right, for the family is not registered amongst the nobility either in France or Canada. Its arms are therefore contrary to all the rules since only accredited masters of heraldry can grant armorial bearings.

A family history of the usual type is that of the family Demers.† The first members known were two brothers, André and Jean, and a cousin Étienne, the surname of all three being Dumet or Demers. They arrived at Quebec from Dieppe about 1650.

Originality, either in thought or expression, is not generally characteristic of government publications, and no ex-

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**La Famille Panet.* Par Pierre-Georges Roy. Quebec, 1906. Pp. 212.

†*La famille Demers d' Etchemin, P.Q.* Par l'Abbé Benj. Demers. Lévis, 1905. Pp. iv, 124, xv ii, iv.

ception to the rule is to be made in regard to the books by MM. Alex. Girard and Alfred Pelland,* the first of which was issued by the Quebec Department of Agriculture, with an eye to French emigration, and the second by the Quebec Department of Colonization, Mines and Fisheries, for the purpose of advertising more especially the Temiskaming district. Both impart a good deal of valuable information regarding the resources and possibilities of the country ; are printed on good paper, in fine clear type, and include some very creditable and suggestive photographs. M. Girard whose work has the greater importance, might have presented his facts concerning the province of Quebec in more logical order and more lively form. As it is, we are taken from the opening chapter, which gives a general description of the physical features and means of transportation of the province, to a dry outline of its political organization and back again to agriculture, colonization, mines, fisheries, commerce and manufactures, then unexpectedly to be confronted with a chapter on public instruction. In respect to the quality most to be looked for in publications emanating from such a source, accuracy, neither of these publications is above reproach. Mr. Pelland deliberately states in his introduction that all shipments of goods from Canada to Europe, or *vice versa*, necessarily pass through Quebec or Montreal. A few slips are noticeable also in M. Girard's book, the most amazing, possibly, being the theory expounded on page 225 as to the vegetable origin of minerals in Archaean times.

" To my fellow-citizens this book is cordially dedicated—the last I shall write—closing a labour of love begun fifty years ago." With this short and simple valedictory dedi-

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**La Province de Québec, son organisation politique et administrative, ses ressources agricoles, minières et industrielles.*. Par Alex. Girard. Quebec : Dussault & Proulx, 1905. Pp. 318.

Le Nouveau Québec, région de Témiscamingue, ressources agricoles, forestières, minières et sportives. Par Alfred Pelland. Quebec : Dussault & Proulx, 1906. Pp. 168.

cation the veteran author, Sir James LeMoine,* retires from the active world of writers, readers, and reviewers. But, however well he may have earned his rest from literary work, he certainly is not giving it up on account of failing powers. His hand has lost none of its old cunning, his spirit none of its old keenness, his books none of their old versatility within the sphere of their many-sided interest in all that concerns the past and present of Quebec. An admirable feature of the present volume is the appendix, giving the full tables of contents of the whole series of his "Maple Leaves," from 1863 to 1906. A glance through it reveals the author's wide range of subjects and intense devotion to one locality. Like so many others writing at the beginning of a country's literature he is the very reverse of the specialist. The specialist pursues a single subject through time and space, all over the world, whithersoever the data lead him. The fathers of a new literature more often deal with the many subjects clustering round a single place. Sir James LeMoine's place is Quebec ; he and she are still enjoying the intimate pleasures of a life-long home together ; and his "Maple Leaves" are the memoirs of their mutual love.

M. R. de Marmande in *La Revue* attacks clerical control of education in the province of Quebec.† He outlines the history of education in French Canada since the British conquest and shows that always the Church has been in control. As a result he charges that the primary schools are backward, often with quite incompetent teachers, that the secondary schools are no better, and that the higher education, so called, given by Laval University is a farce. The Canadian clergy opposed the founding of McGill University and only in 1852 was Laval University established in self-defence. In it, M. de Marmande claims, there is no such thing as liberty of

**Maple Leaves. VIIth Series, 1906. History, Biography, Legend, Literature, Memoirs, etc.* By Sir James McPherson LeMoine. Quebec, 1906. Pp. xii, 407, ix.

†*L'Instruction publique dans la Province de Québec.* Par R. de Marmande. (La Revue, 15 Mars, 1906, pp. 203-213.)

opinion. No work not orthodox is admitted to the library, and students are forbidden to frequent other libraries or to read foreign reviews. When, in 1904, at a medical congress held in Laval University, Quebec, a resolution was passed in favour of checking tuberculosis in the schools by excluding teachers who could not produce a health certificate, the Vice-rector of Laval University, enraged at a supposed attempt to check the Church's right to name whom she liked to teach, ordered peremptorily that the doors of the university should be closed at once to the attending physicians. The dissolution of the Congress would have followed had not local influence secured with difficulty the reversal of the order. M. de Marmande thinks that a severe struggle is imminent in Quebec to overthrow the clerical control of education. He comments upon the bitter hostility to modern France characteristic of the clerical leaders.

The same writer on *Clerical Feeling in Canada** is not fair in tone and not well informed. He charges that the French-Canadian clergy are greedy for money and that the strict Puritanism they enforce accounts for the backwardness of the people. He is loose in his citations of authorities and uses the term " Canada " as if it meant only the province of Quebec. No doubt some of the French-Canadian clergy, like other people, accumulate property, but it is absurd to say that this is their characteristic as a whole. Most of them die poor. The *dime* which " R. de M." thinks a source of fabulous wealth is in fact only one twenty-sixth of the cereal crops. It is sometimes very difficult of collection and rather than be troubled about it the priest often lets off delinquents. One dollar a year for communicants other than farmers is not a high rate of dues to the Church. On the other hand " R. de M." is probably correct in saying that orders in Canada such as the Sulpicians have accumulated great wealth and their exemption from taxation is a real grievance.

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*The Monthly Review, September, 1906, pp. 63-77.

(3) The Province of Ontario

Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records. Vol. VII. Toronto : 1906. Pp. 238.

The Ontario Historical Society's new volume of *Papers and Records* contains much that is interesting and valuable. In "The First Chapter of Upper Canadian History," Mr. Avern Pardoe deals with the quarrel between Lord Dorchester and Simcoe, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. He points out that the division of the old Canada into two provinces was the act of King George III, not of Parliament. Nor did the Constitutional Act define the limits of the authority to be delegated to the governor and lieutenant-governor respectively. These were left to the royal prerogative. The commissions and instructions to Lord Dorchester as Captain General and Governor in Chief, and the commission to Simcoe as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, are shown by Mr. Pardoe to be inconsistent with each other. These documents are published as an appendix. The Duke of Portland's letter to Dorchester, dated 27th May, 1795, is also given *in extenso*. This letter threw the fat in the fire. "Dorchester peremptorily resigned ; on account of old age, he said." Simcoe obtained leave of absence, "on account of ill-health." But old age did not prevent the former from immediately taking important military commands in England, nor the latter from accepting "employment in an inferior position at a less salary in that most unhealthy island, San Domingo."

The rest of the volume is made up of parish records, personal reminiscences and historical data relating to the early settlement of Upper Canada. The first relate to the church of Assumption (Sandwich) in the County of Essex. A list of marriages from 1761 to 1786, of baptisms, for the same period, and of deaths, from 1768 to 1786, is given. No marriages were recorded from May, 1760, until November, 1764, doubtless, as is suggested, owing to the change of flag and the Pontiac war.

" The Pennsylvania Germans of Waterloo County, Ontario," by the Rev. A. B. Sherk, is an interesting account of the origin and development of the Mennonite settlement in that county. In the American revolution, the Mennonites of Pennsylvania sympathized largely with the loyalists. By removing to Upper Canada they believed they would find greater religious liberty than in the States. Mr. Sherk defends them from the charge of illiteracy ; " Their reading was mostly that of standard German books on the practical phases of the Christian life." The social and domestic virtues were emphasized among them. They were noticeably a cheerful people, full of life and energy, and of a patriarchal simplicity of manners. The Church was the supreme power in the colony. In the actual exercise of power it was discreet—" a moderate theocracy" Mr. Sherk calls it. Its most prominent personality was Bishop Benjamin Eby, of whom a brief sketch is given.

There is a reprint in this volume of that roll of honour, the Pennsylvania " Black List," with the legal opinions of Attorneys-General McKean and Dallas. "An Old Family Account Book" of Michael and Jacob Gander of Welland County is contributed by Michael Gonder Sherk. The entries extend from 1802 to 1837. Miss Janet Carnochan writes on " The Origin of the Maple Leaf as the Emblem of Canada."

Not the least valuable of the contents of the volume are three documents from the collection in the Parliamentary Library, Ottawa, known as " The Coventry Papers," namely : " Testimonial of Mr. Roger Bates," " Reminiscence of Mrs. White," and " Memoirs of Colonel John Clark." The last was written in 1860 in the writer's 78th year; the first is not dated. Mrs. White was 79 years old when her recollections were taken down, but they are not otherwise dated. All go back to the earliest British settlements. There are interesting references to pioneer missionaries, Langhorn, McDowall and others. A good deal of attention is given to social conditions among the pioneer families. Owing to the infirmity of human

memory, reminiscences of aged persons, while frequently affording valuable and in some cases almost the only historical material, must always be carefully weighed in matters of detail, of time, place and circumstance, before being accepted as authoritative. Bearing in mind this qualification, we may concede that the reminiscences under consideration contain much that is interesting and valuable. The longest of the three papers, and the most important, is the last.

Colonel Clark's reminiscences go back almost to the revolutionary war, and practically cover the first 77 years of the British settlements at the extremities of Lake Ontario. They include details of more or less value as to slavery, Indians, international complications, provincial politics, visits of royal princes, list of original settlers, births, deaths, and marriages, and many other matters.

The last paper in the volume, on "The Origin of the Names of the Post Offices in Simcoe County," is by Mr. David Williams of Collingwood. The names are arranged alphabetically, and the work appears to be well done, Mr. Williams' local knowledge standing him in good stead. The complimentary address to Lieutenant-Colonel Cruikshank from the Ontario Historical Society, which concludes the volume, is a deserved recognition of admirable work done by an accurate and painstaking student.

JAMES H. COYNE

The Story of Joncaire. His Life and Times on the Niagara. By Frank H. Severance. Buffalo, 1906. Pp. viii, 136.

This volume was issued in a limited edition for presentation. It has since been included in the Buffalo Historical Society's volume of publications for 1906. Its chapters are a portion of an extended study, not yet published, relating to the whole period of French occupancy on the lower Lakes. Mr. Severance claims justly enough "that the true relationship and proper values of the events recorded depend largely on what has preceded, and what is to follow, these forty years,

which," he adds, "I have designated the Dark Decades on the Niagara."

The sources include the printed histories by Belmont, La Potherie and Charlevoix, and volumes v and ix of the New York Colonial Documents. Some examination of the documents mentioned has been made in various public depositories. Using this material, Mr. Severance has compiled whatever related to the history of the Niagara region during the first forty years of the eighteenth century, together with such facts as could be gleaned relating to the elder Chabert de Joncaire, whose life extended from 1670 to 1739. Joncaire was a prisoner among the Senecas, who adopted him, from perhaps 1687 until 1694. From that time until his death, his history is largely the history of the Niagara region. Except fifteen years in all, the period was one of peace between the English and French ; but the struggle for commerical supremacy went on incessantly, and the French placed their chief dependence, at least as far as the maintenance of their influence over the Senecas was concerned, upon Joncaire's energy, diplomatic skill, eloquence and knowledge of Indian character. Pitted against Governor Burnet, Schuyler, Livingstone, and the Dutch interpreter, Claessen or Clawsen, he won more than one diplomatic and commercial victory. The Iroquois played their own game, effectively upon the whole. Between them and the French it would be hard, on Mr. Severance's showing, to award the palm for duplicity. In some instances, however, it is possible that a closer study of their institutions might lead us to qualify our judgments on some incidents, which at first strike us as evidences of Iroquois fickleness or treachery. It was not without some show of reason that the Onondagas, when charged with having authorized the French to erect a cabin on the Niagara and then cancelled the authority, defended themselves upon the ground that their consent was not sufficient, any one of the Iroquois nations having power to veto their action ; and that their authorization had failed to receive the unanimous approval required.

Mr. Severance shows clearly the importance of the fur-trade, and especially the traffic in beaver skins, as the main factor in the history of the Niagara region. In the struggle for the north-west trade, France forestalled England by the establishment of trading-posts and forts at Detroit and Niagara, although the ground occupied was actually ceded by the Iroquois to the English Crown. Joncaire succeeded more than once in baffling the efforts of the English to secure the active aid of the Iroquois, and induced the latter to remain neutral, while obtaining trade privileges for his own people, which the English strove in vain to share openly. He was the principal agent, in Mr. Severance's opinion, in the establishment of the trading-post at Lewiston and afterwards of the fort at Niagara. But the English, notwithstanding, secured their own and more than their own share of peltries. This was due to several causes, and especially these : they sold brandy, which the French traders were forbidden to carry to the savages, they had better and cheaper goods, and they offered higher prices for furs. The Indian canoes slipped past Detroit by night, and passed Fort Niagara in defiance of the French store-masters, on their way to Oswego with their cargoes, to exchange them for British goods, whenever it was to their advantage to do so. The trading-post at Toronto being a sort of dependency of that at Niagara, Mr. Severance gives considerable information about its origin, and its success, which was not great. " Graft " prevailed at that early day.

Among the visitors at Fort Niagara are mentioned the first two Barons de Longueuil, the second having been the first commandant of the fort, Charlevoix, Durant, Chaussegros de Léry, the engineer and architect, of whose ability Montcalm spoke so contemptuously, Joseph La France, who first crossed from Lake Winnipeg to Hudson Bay, and the mythical Le Beau. The first persons to visit the Falls, as sight-seers merely, appear to have been the Marquis de Cavagnac and Captain de Senneville, who saw them in 1726, and made the height 156 feet by actual measurement.

Mr. Severance's carefully prepared monograph will lead us to look with interest to the completion of his study of Niagara history.

JAMES H. COYNE

From a journal kept by the late Reverend Doctor Scadding between the 12th December, 1837, and the 20th July, 1838, the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto has published interesting extracts dealing almost exclusively with the Lower Canada rebellion.* The diarist was in his 25th year. Shortly after his ordination as a deacon of the Church of England, he had accepted the position of tutor to Sir John Colborne's sons. Being thus a member of Colborne's family, he was brought into close contact with persons of prominence at Montreal and Quebec. Keeping eyes and ears open, he noted down with due discretion much of what he saw and heard. It would be too much to expect from the young man of twenty-four profound reflections on the political situation of Canada at the time. He saw things from the point of view of the military and official set with whom he held converse. The sentiments he expresses naturally enough reflect the feeling of Sir John and his court. Incidents of the rebellion are stated as seen from, or reported at the headquarters of the government forces. He had an eye for picturesque display, and in depicting such scenes he is at his best. On Lord Gosford's departure in February, 1838, Sir John Colborne, Commander in Chief of the forces in Canada, was sworn in as administrator, and he acted in this capacity until Lord Durham was sworn in as his successor on the 29th of May. The news of Durham's appointment was evidently ill-received by the Administrator. "This is a decidedly bad omen for Canada," writes Scadding, "and I doubt whether permanent peace will be the consequence ; Whig principles being essentially unsound, nothing that flows from them can

*_Women's Historical Society of Toronto, Transaction No. 6. Extracts from the Diary of the Rev. Henry Scadding, 1837-1838._ [Toronto,] 1906. Pp. 32.

be ultimately beneficial or permanently good." With principles essentially unsound, the governor's personality was not likely to be regarded with more favourable eyes. But the semi-royal pageantry which attended Lord Durham interested the young tutor. The new representative of the Crown landed at Quebec amid salutes from the frigate " Hastings " and the citadel, and proceeded in state to the Château, through streets lined with Guards on both sides. The thousands of spectators cheered him along the route. The Countess and family were in carriages, Lord Durham and his suite were on horseback. Scadding gives the following picture of him :

" His Lordship wore a red coat with two stars and silver epaulettes, etc., and a broad red scarf and a cocked hat. He rode a very stately black horse. . . . . Lord Durham looks remarkably young, jet black curly hair, sallow complexion, dark, restless eyes—all indicating excessive irritability to me."

The diary ends at the time of Lord Durham's visit to Toronto.

The History of the County of Bruce and of the minor municipalities therein, Province of Ontario, Canada. By Norman Robertson. Toronto : William Briggs, 1906. Pp. x, 560.

The County Council of Bruce deserves praise for the broadminded, liberal spirit which first offered a prize of $50 for the best paper on the history of the county and then advanced a thousand dollars to aid in the publication of the present volume. They have set an example to older counties which we trust will not be lost.

Within the recollection of living men the whole tract of forest-clad country lying between Lake Huron and the Georgian Bay was known as the Queen's Bush. It was rich in fur-bearing animals, but its human inhabitants were a few wandering trappers. The influx of immigration into Upper Canada, between the years 1840 and 1848, forced the government to extend the area of available lands, and in 1847 instructions were given to the surveyors to lay out new townships in the Queen's Bush. Settlement followed close upon the heels of the surveyors, until the population of the country,

which in 1850 amounted to 376, reached 64,603 in 1891. And in these 40 years a population which had entered upon the land possessing little else than physical strength had accumulated wealth, so that the assessed value at the end of that period was returned by the valuators at $25,378,972. Well cultivated farms, villages and flourishing towns had taken the place of the dense forest, and schools and libraries occupied the sites of the wigwams of the aboriginal inhabitants. Much of this phenomenal prosperity was due to the high character of the immigrants, chiefly Scottish by origin. But the period of settlement was also favourable, the overflow from the older adjacent counties being diverted into the new counties, instead of disappearing in the prairie lands of the western States, as they did a few years later.

Mr. Robertson's book is in some respects unique. It is the story of a Canadian county completed within one generation. With excellent judgment the author devotes a third of his book to a general history of the county. He includes interesting narratives of the pioneers, and portrays without exaggeration the hardships which they endured. The remaining two-thirds of the book is taken up by detailed histories of the minor municipalities of the county, including the towns of Walkerton, Wiarton, Kincardine, and Southampton. Wherever opened the book is full of living interest and it is difficult to refrain from making extract after extract. One fact alone shows the modernity of the county. The last bounty for wolves was paid as late as in 1862. Only those very familiar with the county can judge of the correctness of the details, but the book seems accurate. In a new edition, the author should, however, amend the text on page 100 : " D. L. Macpherson (in 1864) obtained the seat [Saugeen] which he held until his death, thirty-three years later." In 1867 Sir David Macpherson was appointed by the Crown one of the senators for Ontario, so that he represented the Saugeen Division for only three years.

The book is rendered more valuable by having 16 maps of townships, which give sufficient details to enable the reader

to follow the course of events. But it would have been an advantage to have had a single map of the county to show the relative positions of the townships. There is a good index. Mr. Robertson is to be congratulated upon having written the best county history which Ontario has yet produced. It is to be regretted that the printer has not been equally successful in his part of the book.

JAMES BAIN

The Niagara Historical Society prints some letters by the wife of the Chief Justice at York (Toronto) to relations in New York, 1807-1821.* Though not of very striking interest they throw some light upon the state of society in the capital of Upper Canada at that time. The Duke of Richmond, Sir Peregrine Maitland, the Earl of Selkirk, and other notabilities flit across the scene. To the writer, Lord Selkirk, one of the noblest spirits of his time, is not a philanthropist but a scheming, untruthful speculator. This is because he attacked the commercial interests of the rich traders in Canada. There are a good many printer's errors in the letters which unfortunately are not given in their entirety.

A book of reminiscences† of a settler's life in Muskoka is interesting. Without accepting all the stories and events as unvarnished history we may recognize the substantial truth of the simple picture presented.

An excellent book on camping and canoeing in the wilds is that by Mr. H. A. Auer.‡ The summer outing which he describes began at the mouth of some river flowing into Michipicoten Bay in Lake Superior. There is a careful vagueness about the exact route pursued and the names of lakes

*_Letters of Mrs. Wm. Dummer Powell, 1807-1821._ (Niagara Historical Society, No. 14, pp. 44.)

†_Muskoka Memories : Sketches from Real Life._ By Ann Hathaway. Toronto : William Briggs, 1904. Pp. 228.

‡_The North Country._ By Harry A. Auer. Cincinnati : The Robert Clarke Company, 1906. Pp. viii, 208.

and rivers given are not to be found on the map of that region. But the party appear to have proceeded as far as the height of land between Hudson Bay and Lake Superior, returning by a somewhat different way. It is not, however, the actual description of the country traversed so much as the spirit that animates the narrative which makes the book interesting. There are, moreover, many practical suggestions as to equipment and its employment which mark the experienced camper and would prove valuable to others of like tastes. A chapter on the Hudson's Bay Company gives the outline of its history and describes with approbation the dealings of the Company with the Indian trappers and hunters. There are some errors, as where the Laurentian " mountains " are said to form a rocky wall from New Brunswick to the Rocky Mountains. The English is also slipshod at times, although generally graphic ; but " falls " as a singular noun, and " sox " and " shoepacs " are barbarous.

An entertaining book on canoeing in the Abitibi country has been written by Mr. James Barr.* He indulges freely in the " new " humour, which is largely the device of making his characters ridiculous and imagining rather cruel practical jokes upon them. The general setting of the expedition is true to nature, although the details are not necessarily of historical accuracy.

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*_Laughing through a Wilderness_. By James Barr. London : Methuen & Co. [1906.] Pp. xii, 296.

(4) Manitoba, the Northwest Provinces and British Columbia.

Vikings of the Pacific, The Adventures of the Explorers who came from the west eastward. By A. C. Laut. Toronto : The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1905. Pp. xvi, 349.

Miss Laut's successful " Pathfinders of the West," which is an admirable account of the fur-trade as carried on by land, is naturally followed by her " Vikings of the Pacific," a narrative of the exploration and exploitation of the northern Pacific coast of America in the interests chiefly of the fur-trade, with territorial expansion as a secondary thought. The book contains a long and interesting account of Russian effort on the Pacific from the adventures of Bering the Dane, sent out by Peter the Great to see whether there was continuous land between Asia and America, to the exploits of Baranof " the little Czar " who died in 1819 after a strenuous life as fur-trader on the North Pacific. The English and American efforts on the Pacific are also described. There are sketches of Francis Drake, the first known Englishman to sail up the Pacific coast of America and claim its northern half for England ; of Captain Cook, the later reviver of Drake's efforts ; of Robert Gray, the Boston trader who discovered the Columbia river at the very time that Vancouver was exploring that coast without finding the great river and Alexander Mackenzie was making his arduous and successful journey across the Rocky Mountains to reach the Pacific by land. Miss Laut also sketches Vancouver's work and the book closes with an account of the later Russian fur-trade. What is really remarkable is that Russia having once held so valuable a territory as Alaska should have sold it to the United States for the trifle which she received ; and in view of the disputes as to the Alaska boundary, in which Canada has taken so keen an interest, it is also remarkable that Russia should have held so little rather than so much of the coast line.

Miss Laut is always interesting and her book is eminently readable. The parallel which she draws between France's

steady advance across the American continent through the *coureurs de bois* led on by the fur-trade, and the advance of Russians to the Pacific is striking. When towards the end of the sixteenth century Drake was romping up the Pacific in command of the first English ship that had ever sailed those waters, pillaging ports and ships with the astonished Spaniards for the moment helpless (Miss Laut says that he " scuttled " the ports !), Russian fur-traders were reaching out for the North Pacific. Quebec, as a basis of supplies, was not as distant from the far west of America as was St. Petersburg from the Pacific—yet after Peter the Great founded his capital it was from St. Petersburg that the Russian fur-traders in the Pacific brought their provisions, ammunition and weapons. There was savage war with the Indians in America, and posts in the Yukon country and in Alaska were drenched with blood long before we began to think seriously of these regions. Miss Laut's book will serve to reiterate the forgotten truths that the history of this coast including that of the present far west of Canada is larger and fuller of dramatic incident than the average man imagines. More than a hundred years ago, when Mackenzie's voyages were first published, Europe was already doing a good deal of thinking about the great north-west.

Miss Laut's book is based upon the original sources, albeit, as she confesses, not upon a complete examination of them. She groans a little over the extensive bibliography of her subject. " There are," she says, " in the State Department, Washington, some hundred old log-books of the Russian hunters which have—as far as I know—never been turned by a single hand, though I understand their outsides were looked at during the fur seal controversy" (p. viii-ix). Here is a chance for some aspirant in research to try his wings. The only one of her biographies that has any direct interest for the history of Canada is that of Vancouver. Miss Laut is so occupied with dramatic incidents that she sometimes neglects less exciting matters equally vital to her story. In connection

with Vancouver's career she does not describe clearly the real significance of the Nootka controversy or show what an important question this dispute between Spain and Britain became in the early days of the French Revolution. Vancouver's exploits she describes adequately enough, but a little more detail would have been welcome on the diplomacy of those days so fully described for instance by Mr. Manning in the Report of the American Historical Association for 1904. The romantic school of historical writers is in danger of omitting all the sober drab tones from its pictures.

Since we think highly of Miss Laut's work we may venture upon a further criticism. Her English needs looking to. She is so colloquial, so aggressively racy, that she throws grammar to the winds, and she sometimes gives curious meanings to words. What are we to make, for instance, of such a sentence as " For a second they scarcely realized " (p. 289), or " Baranof haggled the Englishman tired " (p. 310). A pistol shot, she tells us, " dropped " somebody (p. 222) and one of her heroes locks " grapples " with destiny (p. 324). Miss Laut is really an interesting and sane writer and she should not permit herself such slackness. Her index is hopelessly bad. She speaks more than once in the text of a " Hudson's Bay Fur Co." which never existed, but neither that nor the real Hudson's Bay Company appears in the Index and there are other omissions as glaring.

The Abbé Dugas's *L'Ouest Canadien* which we noticed ten years ago (Vol. I, p. 47) has now been translated into English and published under the direction of the Abbé himself.* As we have already noted, the book is an elaborate *apologia* for La Vérendrye and Lord Selkirk, and this, in regard to Lord Selkirk, is the more striking as the French-Canadian race, with which the Abbé is identified, was associated with the

**The Canadian West. Its Discovery by the Sieur de la Vérendrye, its development by the fur-trading Companies, down* [sic] *the year 1822.* Translated [by I. Foran] from the French of Abbé G. Dugas. Montreal : Librairie Beauchemin, 1905. Pp. 320.

opposition to Selkirk's plans. As now translated the book is a valuable addition to the growing literature in English bearing on the history of the Canadian West. The French edition has already become a standard work on the subject.

In a previous volume (III : 142) we have noticed the Rev. R. G. MacBeth's " Making of the Canadian West " and we welcome now a new edition.* Mr. MacBeth's book is the record of a life-long resident in the Red River country and has a permanent value. He himself shared in the events of Riel's two rebellions and he has been a close student of the political and social life of the Canadian West. The present edition is a revision and enlargment of the first, without seriously altering its character. We could wish that the excellence of the matter were equalled in other respects. Some of the illustrations are so inferior in execution that a respectable house ought to be ashamed to put them forth with its imprint.

Transaction No. 17 of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba† is a study of the history of *Our Indian Treaties* by the Hon. David Laird, *quorum pars magna fuit*, since he was at one time Governor of the North-West Territories. The article, which is very slight, goes to show how creditable is Canada's record in regard to the treatment of Indians.

Mr. E. B. Osborn has a whole-souled enthusiasm for western Canada and his paper read before the Royal Colonial Institute‡ glows with optimism. He describes the beautiful scenery—an asset, since man does not live by bread alone. The west is rich in iron, in coal, in minerals. He says that in the " Middle West " of the United States a "spikelet"

*_The Making of the Canadian West, being the Reminiscences of an Eye-witness._ By the Rev. R. G. MacBeth. Second edition. Toronto : William Briggs, 1905. Pp. 280.

†Winnipeg : The Manitoba Free Press Co., 1905. Pp. 12.

‡_The Future of Western Canada._ By E. B. Osborn. (Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, 1905-06, pp. 53-79.)

of wheat will now produce two perfect grains and one that is imperfect ; in Manitoba it produces usually three perfect grains ; while in the Prince Albert and Edmonton districts four perfect grains are the rule. In the discussion that followed the reading of the paper Dr. Parkin declared that " the best asset of Canada is the climate. It squeezes out the black race, and therefore Canada has no problem of that sort. It squeezes out the less efficient races of southern Europe." Sir Frederick Pollock remarked with sententious wisdom that " if anybody wants to break up the British Empire, the way to do it is by going about petting and patronizing the colonists." Mr. Osborn condemned the " all-British " settlements. It is better for new-comers to be scattered among people who know the country.

Mr. A. O. Wheeler's volume on *The Selkirk range*, reviewed last year, is supplemented this year by a second volume* consisting wholly of maps. There is a topographical map in four sheets on the scale of 5,000 feet to an inch and with contour intervals of 100 feet. There are also copies of earlier maps of the same region or parts of it. A series of sketches showing outlines of ridges with tracks and ascents are from photographs, and there are a couple of beautiful reproductions of panoramic photographs taken respectively from Mt. Abbott and Mt. Napoleon.

In Mr. Hornaday's *Camp-fires in the Canadian Rockies*† we have an unusually entertaining record of hunting. The author is a naturalist, the Director of the New York Zoological Park, and his object was to observe the mountain goat in its rocky fastnesses. In company with Mr. John M. Phillips, an enthusiastic photographer as well as sportsman, he saw

*_The Selkirk Range_. By A. O. Wheeler. Volume ii. Ottawa, 1906. Maps.

†_Camp-fires in the Canadian Rockies_. By William T. Hornaday. Illustrations by John M. Phillips. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906. Pp. xviii, 354.

enough to enable him to describe and discuss the habits and character of the mountain goat as they have not been described before, and for this alone, and the wonderful photographs of living animals taken at short range by Mr. Phillips, the book is noteworthy. Grizzly bears and mountain sheep were also hunted and killed, and the somewhat cruel account of the slaughter of these animals will doubtless be appreciated by sportsmen. Mr. Hornaday, however, is not an indiscriminate butcher of wild animals. At the very beginning of the book he criticizes the game law of British Columbia on the ground that it is too liberal in its permission to destroy. He also abstained from shooting more than three goats, although his license allowed him five. And yet the numerous pictures of dead animals, and his glowing descriptions when he has to narrate a particularly neat piece of execution, are plain incitements to less scrupulous sportsmen and had better be omitted. Two preposterous illustrations of dangerous climbs, which are purely imaginary pictures drawn to match the descriptions, are a blot upon the make-up of the book.

A little book on British Columbia which reaches us is excellent.* The text is readable, and the illustrations with some exceptions are good. There ought to be some such book as this on every province, studied, as this is intended to be, in the elementary schools of the province.

The account of a journey down the Yukon river in 1905 by Mr. N. E. Keeler† is beautifully illustrated from photographs but is not otherwise remarkable. The author saw what any summer tourist who makes the trip nowadays may see and relate. He repeats many anecdotes and incidents of " old-time " Dawson.

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*A *History and Geography of British Columbia. History:* By Maria Lawson. *Geography* : By Rosalind W. Young. Toronto : W. J. Gage & Co. [1906]. Pp. 148.

†A *Trip to Alaska and the Klondike in the Summer of 1905.* By N. E. Keeler. Cincinnati : The Ebbert and Richardson Co., 1906. Pp. 116.

The Royal North-West Mounted Police are becoming a favourite subject of magazine articles. Mr. F. R. Wall treats of their work in the Yukon District,* devoting most of his space to the narrative of how the murderer LaBelle was tracked and arrested by a member of the force. This, however, is ordinary detective work. It would be interesting to have a more complete account of the various duties which they fulfil in that territory and which are but enumerated by Mr. Wall.

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*_The Guardians of the Yukon._ By F. R. Wall. (The Wide World Magazine, October, 1906, pp. 36-43.)

IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS AND STATISTICS

Le Canada : les deux races. Par André Siegfried. Paris : Armand Colin, 1906. Pp. 415.

This book surpasses even the high expectations formed by those who had read M. Siegfried's studies on " Edward Gibbon Wakefield " and on " La Nouvelle Zélande." It is as bright as Mr. Foster Fraser's " Canada as it is," with French *esprit* and good taste in place of flippancy and cheap smartness ; as thorough as Mr. Bradley's " Canada in the Twentieth Century," with sounder judgment and deeper insight. Perhaps for the first time Canada has been treated scientifically. There is something almost inhuman in M. Siegfried's detachment; his analysis approaches the calm and the neutrality of a vivisectionist. Himself a Frenchman, a Protestant, and an anti-clerical, little in the book identifies him with any race, religion or political creed. Yet while dispassionate, he is not colourless ; he is merciless, but not unsympathetic ; he has abstained from excessive simplification, and not endeavoured to confine Canada's national life within a limited number of pigeon-holes. The work, we are glad to know, is to be translated into English, and merits a wide circulation.

Almost every aspect of Canada's national life, political, social, economic, religious, is treated with sympathy. Thus full knowledge of the wide-spread and deep-rooted political corruption in Canada leads him not to indulge in sermon or in epigram, but to show how at moments of crisis, corruption has either little influence or recoils upon its votaries, and to say :

" The difficulty and variety of the problems presented have, I think, produced in the Dominion public men of a type certainly superior to those of Australia or New Zealand. Macdonald and Laurier are really striking personalities, whose names will figure in the history of the world. Their country is justified in its pride, not only in having produced them, but in having known how to appreciate them. With such leaders, giving their whole time to the affairs of their party or of their country, the political struggle in Canada has more than once taken, in spite of the inevitable vulgarity of the ward politician, a width and a dignity which must be fully acknowledged. After all possible reservations have been made, the fact remains that Confederation has been of vast advantage to the political life of the country."

The great problems are of course the relation between French and English-speaking Canadians, and the conflict, at once political, social, and economic, between British and American influences and ideals. To these M. Siegfried devotes the greater part of his book.

To the moderation and kindness with which from the first Britain treated her new subjects he does splendid justice ; and also to the tenacity with which, beneath the shelter of British liberty, the French have clung to the triple strand of "*notre langue, notre religion, nos lois.*" He makes clear the reasons for the apparent paradox that the Catholic clergy have been loyal subjects to Britain, steadying their flocks in 1812 and in 1837, at Confederation and in every crisis of Canadian history, and have yet been the strongest influence in holding them true to French ideals. Their influence over the lives of their flocks cannot, he thinks, be over-estimated. After a description of the effect produced by a visit to Laval University at Quebec, he says : " Il faut surtout avoir conversé, dans l'intimité charmante et digne de petites chambres presque cellulaires, avec les maîtres ecclésiastiques, si français de langage, si canadiens, si catholiques, et avec tout cela si lointains et si différents de notre France européenne et moderne : on devine alors, comme dans une révélation imposée par *la composition du lieu*, toute la forte tradition romaine qui a pétri ce pays et ce peuple, à tel point qu' il se sentirait orphelin, si le protecteur séculaire de son histoire venait à lui manquer."* Between Ontario and Quebec, there is, he says, an *entente cordiale* : there is no fusion ; the two races remain absolutely apart. But he points out that this does not imply any love for modern France. In case of war between that country and Great Britain, French Canada would if possible remain neutral ; if compelled by the visit of a French fleet to join in, her soldiers and sailors would be found beneath the blended crosses not under the flag of the revolution. The present

*I have left this and one other extract in the original, as examples of M. Siegfried's style.

policy of the French Republic, and its expulsion of the teaching orders has of course strengthened this feeling. Throughout Quebec the priesthood dissuade the young men from studying in France. Paris has perhaps the foremost school of medical science in Europe, but the opposition of the clergy and of a subservient press stifled a scheme for founding a series of bursaries to send thither the most brilliant graduates of Laval. Musset, Renan, Zola, Dumas (père et fils) and almost all modern French authors are on the *Index*, and, by constant clerical control of the press and the bookseller, are almost excluded from the province. Even the French Catholic is viewed with suspicion, as too much infected with the modern spirit ; the coldness of his reception at Quebec has disappointed many an exiled Jesuit or Assumptionist.

Catholicism is in Quebec a political as well as a religious creed. To be false to the Church is to be false to the race ; the indifferent or the mutinous are accused not so much of heresy as of Anglomania. Thus, while indifference or hostility to the Church's teaching is not uncommon, patriotism makes the intellectual or moral sceptic politically a clerical. How long this triple strand will hold against the continual fraying of that materialism of which the locomotive is at once the precursor and the symbol, M. Siegfried does not say, but he is clear that the danger to the stability of French and Catholic institutions in Quebec comes not from Ontario, still less from Britain, but from the colossus to the south.

" Either the French-Canadians will retain their strict Catholicism, in which case their somewhat archaic isolation will render it difficult for them to keep up with the rapid evolution of the new world ; or they will gradually allow to slacken the bonds linking them to the Church ; in this last case, deprived of the marvellous cohesion which she gives, more exposed to outside influences, they may chance to see deep cleavages appear in the unbroken unity which has endured so long. Such is the disquieting dilemma for the French-Canadian of to-day " (p. 68).

On the problem of national unity, he is equally suggestive. Four solutions present themselves : (1) independence ; (2) closer union with Britain ; (3) closer union with the United States ; (4) indefinite continuance of the present situation. To the craving of Canadians for a full and complete national

life, their dislike of tutelage, their often unreasonable distrust of the mother country, he does full justice, and he sees clearly the logical outcome of the utterances of enthusiasts. "The day when Ottawa has its separate diplomatic corps, good-bye to the colonial tie" (p. 328); "The treaty-making power implies independence" (p. 330). These are two apophthegms which may well be pondered by those who brood over a series of sacrifices, culminating in the Alaska boundary decision. Even with the British fleet in the background, Canada gets the worst of it in her dealings with the United States. How much better would she fare, asks M. Siegfried, if the background were painted out? Mexico and Spain supply the answer.

Are Canadians blind to such patent facts? By no means. Even at the height of Canadian anger at the Foreign Office and its mouthpiece, Lord Alverstone, there was no real wish to sever the connection :

"Les coloniaux, qui sont tous un peu marseillais, ne s'attendent pas à ce qu'on prenne à la lettre tout ce qu'ils disent. Dans cette circonstance spéciale, les Canadiens, en criant: Indépendance! Indépendance! n'avaient sans doute pas la moindre intention de se séparer de l'Angleterre, et ils n'eussent même pas voulu que celle-ci le crût. Ils usaient simplement une fois de plus, tout en donnant cours à une légitime indignation, d'un procédé commode et parfois efficace, qui, d'une façon très vulgaire, peut s'exprimer ainsi ; 'Si l'on continue à me traiter de la sorte, je m'en vais!' L'affaire de l'Alaska n'eut donc pas de lendemain. Elle eut cependant une répercussion. Depuis lors, le sentiment impérialiste canadien n'est plus ce qu'il a été autrefois. Si personne, absolument personne, ne veut rompre les liens qui unissent la Colonie à la Métropole, bien peu nombreux sont ceux qui songent sérieusement à les resserrer" (p. 363).

Closer union with Britain is thus unlikely, in spite of the flame of enthusiasm kindled by the South African war. Closer political union with the United States is still more improbable, partly for historical reasons, partly owing to the strong growth of Canadian national sentiment. But he fears the Americanization, which he considers equivalent to the vulgarization, of social and economic life. Already in Toronto, and still more in Winnipeg, one might, save for the flag, think oneself in an American city.

"The danger of annexation still lives, but as I have already shown, not under the form of military conquest or political union. The American nation does not threaten the Canadian nation ; but American civilization threatens to supplant in Canada British civilization" (p. 411).

Politically, therefore, he inclines to the fourth alternative, that of the indefinite continuance of present relations, which he considers possible on account of the remarkable practical sagacity with which both sides bow to the exigencies created by such an illogical *modus vivendi*. Perhaps he hardly does justice to the ideal of a full national life within the British Empire. It would be an excellent thing if we could get rid of much of our present nomenclature. "Colony," with its Roman associations of subjection to the metropolis, is especially galling, though, taken in its Greek sense, its connotation is perfect. "Empire," also with its Roman associations of a strong centralized government, though flattering our lust of power, is really still more misleading, unless here again we can get back from Rome to Greece, and revive our memories of the Delian League. A new nomenclature for a new political conception is badly needed. But even to those of us with this ideal, M. Siegfried's admirable study gives matter for thought, if not for hesitation.

W. L. GRANT

Canada the New Nation. A Book for the Settler the Emigrant and the Politician. By H. R. Whates. London : J. M. Dent & Co., 1906. Pp. xiii, 284.

The author, who visited Canada as a special correspondent of the London *Standard*, spent five months in travelling in different portions of the Dominion in order to acquaint himself with the opportunities for employment available for British immigrants. He went from place to place either as an ordinary workman or as a landseeker, ostensibly looking for employment. In this way he had an opportunity of coming much closer to actual conditions than does the ordinary Pullman car correspondent. While his experiences are not so striking as those of the author of "The Workers," they have this in common that Mr. Whates found in Canada, as did Mr. Wyckoff in the United States, openings for unskilled labour to be relatively abundant.

Mr. Whates is optimistic in regard to conditions in the East. When he reaches the West his susceptibility to the smaller things tends to distort his perspective. His advice to the workmen to avoid huddling into western cities is good. But the importance of the wheat possibilities of the Northwest are to him wellnigh outweighed by the minor discomforts which have to be faced in a new country. He shows himself to some extent lacking in the imagination which is necessary in order to see that beyond the small things of a new country lie potent possibilities of greater things. To him Saskatoon is simply a " village " ; and Regina " a mean little place of wooden villas and shanties." It is true, that optimists are prone to neglect the shading in the picture. But surely it is not necessary to conclude that " the would-be emigrant with a little capital should reflect on these things [lack of social life, physical discomfort, etc.] before he exchanges the comforts of England—even such as are obtained by the industrious poor,—for exile on the frozen wind-swept prairie." This savours too much of arm-chair criticism and slippered ease.

The concluding portion of the book has some interesting speculation. Here, we think, Mr. Whates has correctly interpreted the Canadian mind. The Canadians do not wish for an independence by which they will sink to the level of a third-rate state. They want to be a part of a great empire and they are seriously pondering how they can best bear their share of the burdens of this empire. But they also want control of their own affairs domestic and foreign, and they are restless and suspicious when the British Foreign Office is occupied with Canada's business. How to reconcile this desire for practical independence with the bond of empire is the problem of the present, but probably it will be solved on the basis of completer Canadian independence, linked with voluntary co-operation with Great Britain.

Mr. Whates, like most of his countrymen, does not understand Canada's attitude on the Alaska boundary question and he is naïvely ignorant of the whole affair. He says :

"It is idle to attempt to persuade a Canadian that Lord Alverstone's decision in favour of the United States—a decision given as President, with a casting vote in an otherwise equally divided [*sic*] Tribunal—could only have been reached on the strict merits of the facts—that it was a strictly judicial verdict, entirely uninfluenced by considerations of international politics. . . . . He is equally oblivious of the point that Lord Alverstone's decision was in accordance with the verdict of the two [*sic*] United States Commissioners, who were men of judicial eminence and high character" (pp. 254, 255).

According to Mr. Whates also the Alaska tribunal sat at Paris (p. 256). He will be surprised to learn that the tribunal sat at London and that Lord Alverstone was one of six Commissioners, three on each side. Probably no one in Canada questions Lord Alverstone's good intentions. But in Canada, where there is no great faith in human infallibility, it is almost universally believed that, no doubt for what he thought higher considerations, he tempered justice with diplomacy. Mr. Whates, with insolence kindly meant, says in reply that the Canadian "is incapable of realizing the offensiveness of his imputation that this could be"; and seeking an explanation of Canadian density he finds it in the fact that "he is familiar with crooked courses in the public life of his own country" even in judicial circles (p. 255). Is Mr. Whates also incapable of realizing the offensiveness of his own imputation? The boundary issue is now dead and the discussion of it in this book is only worth mentioning to account for the fixed resolution of Canada henceforth to have the determining voice in negotiations which affect directly the interests of the Dominion.

Mr. Whates is severe on Britain's colonizing policy, or absence of policy.

"Suppose England were Germany, and that we had a Wilhelm II to stir us up to the establishment of a thinking department for the production of definite methods of action. . . . . Her [Germany's] Colonial Office is a thinking, a creative and acting force. Ours only becomes so by accident when a man of Mr. Chamberlain's mental vigour gets there. . . . Germany is governed by brains; the British Empire—as Mr. Sidney Low has so clearly brought out in his *Governance of England*—by amateurs, intent upon Party triumph rather than upon the better organization of National and Imperial life" (pp. viii, ix).

Some day

"we may see something attempted to lessen congestion in England and sparsity in regions of the Empire safely habitable by men of our own blood" (p. x).

Our author is obviously not infallible. He thinks that Canada has preferential trade arrangements with Australia and South Africa (p. 262). It is probable that titles count for much less in Canada than Mr. Whates supposes (p. 226). But these are trifles. The book is a serious and not unsuccessful attempt to explain a people rapidly assuming the characteristics of a distinct nation.

Canada To-day. By J. A. Hobson. London : T. Fisher Unwin, 1906. Pp. xii, 144.

Mr. Hobson, a successful business man, interested, we believe, in the steel and other trades, is one of the numerous visitors to Canada who can wield a pen and who uses it to describe conditions while they are yet fresh in his memory. His style is sometimes unconventional, not quite free from slang, in truth, and he has the courage to describe things exactly as he sees them. His chief points are threefold : the Canadians are more American than British in manners and modes of thought ; Canada's preferential tariff is a delusion so far as aiding Britain's trade is concerned ; and Canada is on the verge of political independence with a merely sentimental tie to Great Britain. Mr. Hobson's interest is chiefly in the west and the titles of successive chapters in Part I, " Canada Booming," " Canada's Boom City," " A Canadian Imperialist " (Mr. Roblin, the Premier of Manitoba), " The Pacific Slope," and so on, indicate with sufficient clearness the topics discussed. Part II consists of a single chapter of some thirty pages on " Canada's Fiscal Future," and here Mr. Hobson furnishes elaborate statistical tables to show the real result of Canada's policy during the last ten years as affecting her trade with both Great Britain and the United States.

Part I has some excellent criticism of Canadian thought and manners. Mr. Hobson does not like any more than do we the flamboyant phrase too often heard that the twentieth century " belongs " to Canada ; and he soon wearied of the chatter which he heard in western towns of their marvellous

growth, with the expectation of the visitor's wonder at the astounding figures. The "raw pride" of Canadian cities in themselves, which makes rivals hate each other, and the "ostentatious animosity" in British Columbia towards Americans seemed to him foolish. The need of labour in British Columbia will, he thinks, make it an Asiatic province, "predominantly Chinese," and the present "monstrous exhibition of monopoly" in keeping them out cannot last. The rest of Canada is, he thinks, already more than half American. Upon the affectation of being English Mr. Hobson is severe.

"In Toronto you find a sort of Canadian who prides himself upon being conspicuously British, and is loud in his denunciation of the United States, her politics, her commercial methods, and her ways of life. This, indeed, may be described as the distinctive attitude of the well-to-do Canadian, who seems everywhere to think himself more English than American. In point of fact, the very club in which he thus descants is a typically American product : its foods, cooking, and modes of service are American ; the anti-prandial [*sic*] cocktail, the absence of alcohol from table, the literature in the reading-room, the talk, of sport and stocks and industrial development, the very tone of voice, is not English, but American" (p. 48).

If it will give Mr. Hobson any comfort we may assure him that Canada consumes vast quantities of the whiskey and soda which he thinks a distinctively British beverage, and that the cocktail before dinner is not universal.

The power of the railway and other capitalist interests in Canada Mr. Hobson regards as a great menace to the future.

"The 'cream' of the country has been handed over to the Canadian Pacific Railroad in land grants, some 20,000,000 acres, of which 12,000,000 in the north-west are now offered for sale at prices varying from 3.50 dols. to 10 dols. an acre. The entire land grants to railroads amount to over 30,000,000 acres" (p. 108).

The truth is that precisely the promise of such vast profits as the Canadian Pacific Railway is now reaping were, or seemed, necessary in the first instance to attract capital to an undeveloped country. Even then the railway magnates needed a far vision and a strong faith to build their line through a wilderness. Posterity perhaps should not grumble if their faith is now rewarded, even though it may see a real menace in their position.

Mr. Hobson's chief concern however is with Canada's fiscal problems. He is a frank free trader and has many

a gibe at the Canadian Liberal party because, securing power on what many thought was to be a free trade policy, it has made a frank surrender to protection. The combination of protection with preference for the manufactures of Great Britain is, Mr. Hobson thinks, grotesque, for protected interests will always keep the tariff so high that protection remains even when the special preference is deducted for British imports. Mr. Hobson gives in Part II a valuable compilation of statistics to illustrate his point that the preference has not relatively benefited British trade. In 1873, of Canada's total exports 46.77 per cent. were to Great Britain and 42.27 per cent. to the United States ; in 1904, the last year of completed returns, the figures were 55.50 and 33.50 respectively. The relative exports to Great Britain have thus increased. But imports tell a different tale. In 1873 they were 54.61 per cent. from the United Kingdom and 36.29 per cent. from the United States, while in 1904 they were 25.34 per cent. from the United Kingdom and 58.71 per cent. from the United States. Mr. Hobson's conclusions are

" 1. That the Canadian Preference has not stopped the decline in percentage of total British imports, though it may have caused the abatement in the pace of the decline which has taken place.

2. That the Preference has checked to some considerable extent the pace of decline in importation of dutiable British goods.

3. That during the operation of the Preference American total imports show as large a growth as during the nine years prior to 1897, and that the same is true of the dutiable imports exposed to competition of British goods with a Preference " (p. 119).

He elaborates his arguments by details of each branch of trade affected.

" The pace of growth in the woollen trade is not greater than that of the United States, while it is considerably smaller than that of other countries ; while in cotton, though British trade grows considerably faster than American, it also is outstripped by that of other countries. In the two smaller manufactures, flax and silk, the comparison is still more favourable to America " (p. 130).

But these conclusions on the basis of percentages seem less convincing when we look at the gross amounts. " Wool and Manufactures " from Great Britain show, for instance, since 1897 an increase from $5,576,859 to $13,137,525, while for the United States the increase is from $218,396 to $519,948.

Like other English travellers in Canada, Mr. Hobson is struck by the growth of national sentiment. He scouts the thought that Canada desires a real Imperial Council.

> " Either an Imperial Council would be an amiable farce, or it would be a real political body, capable of committing the peoples of the Colonies to some course of action, involving pecuniary and military obligations, and directing, at any rate, their foreign policy, Now, the idea that a democratic country like Canada would hand over any real powers of direction to some Committee of the Privy Council is preposterous " (p. 100).

He adds :

> " There is no remnant left of the once strong leaning towards annexation to the United States. . . . . At present the movement is towards a Kingdom of Canada under the British Crown " (p. 105).

While not written without strong prejudices Mr. Hobson's book is a really valuable contribution to present-day discussion of Canadian problems. He slips occasionally, as, for instance, when he describes the Sunday papers in Canada with inside sheets—" patent insides "—from the United States (p. 50). The fact is that it is illegal throughout Canada to issue or sell newspapers on Sunday. Protection was inaugurated in Canada not eighteen but twenty-eight years ago (p. 55).

The description and statistical account of Canada in *The World of To-day** is accurate enough as far as it goes. There is a note of facetiousness that relieves the somewhat dry record, as where the author alludes thus to the predominantly Scottish descent of the settlers in one portion of Ontario : " Kilted volunteers defy the climate, and the mosquitry, of this province." There are occasional mistakes. The struggling Acadian colony of France was hardly situated " near the mouth of the St. Lawrence," and Yonge Street, extending from Lake Ontario to Lake Simcoe, was not so named because it was ever expected to be a city thoroughfare for its entire length. A rather disagreeable superciliousness is adopted sometimes, as in this sentence : " Newfoundland is a British dependency, having representative institutions which enable the people now and then to express some dis-

**The World of To-day.* By A. R. Hope Moncrieff. London: The Gresham Publishing Company, 1906. (Vol. vi, pp. 69-116 : Canada.)

satisfaction with what they consider indifference to their interests."

Le Canada en 1906, by M. H. Lorin* treats of present-day conditions, and is by a writer whose researches in Canadian history have won respect for his utterances. M. Lorin comments upon the ignorance in France of Canada, and goes on to describe especially the development of the Canadian West. He dwells upon the Canadian Pacific and the Grand Trunk (sometimes *Tronc*) Railways, but apparently does not know their aggressive rival, the Canadian Northern. He thinks that Canada is becoming more and more an agricultural country, and that here lies her real future. His article is worth mentioning because it indicates France's reviving interest in Canada. M. Demanche on *Le Canada*† illustrates a similar fact. He thinks the Canadian government is not sufficiently careful in the selection of the polyglot peoples entering the North-west.

The little book entitled *Canaan and Canada*‡ contains a statistical account of Canada by provinces which gives a highly favourable view of the resources of the country. The book is written for edification, and owes its title to a fanciful comparison between Canada and Palestine.

Mr. R. A. Daly§ has a paper in the *Geographical Journal* of some length on the nomenclature of the different divisions of the mountains of British Columbia. The need of some accepted distinguishing names has been always felt. Mr. Daly makes the long valleys or "trenches," as he prefers to call

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*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales, 1er Aout, 1906, pp. 162-173.

†Revue Française de l'Étranger et des Colonies et Exploration, Aout 1906, pp. 417-422.

‡*Canaan and Canada.* By Rev. D. V. Lucas. Toronto : William Briggs, 1904. Pp. 248.

§*The nomenclature of the North American Cordillera between the 47th and 53rd parallels of latitude.* By Reginald A. Daly. (Geographical Journal, June, 1906, pp. 586-605.)

them, the dividing lines of his suggested mountain systems. The new Director of the Geological Survey of Canada briefly ennumerates† the various explorations and exploratory surveys carried out by the Survey during the years 1900-1905.

Mademoiselle Thérèse Vianzone is a literary lady of France who was engaged to deliver lectures or *conférences* in some of the principal towns of the United States during the winter of 1903-4. She has published her impressions of her tour† in the form of letters to a friend at home. Among the places visited were Ottawa, Quebec, and Montreal ; in the last-named she spent a considerable time, returning there also from Chicago and again from New York. About a third of the book is taken up with the account of her experiences in these Canadian towns. For the benefit of her correspondent she also outlines the history of the foundation of Montreal and the loss of Quebec to the British. Her history is coloured by her French sympathies, as is natural, and she exaggerates the preponderance of the British forces before Quebec. The most noteworthy feature of her book in its Canadian portion is her transcription of an admirable paper which she heard read at a meeting of the Alliance Française at Montreal on Arthur Buies, the French-Canadian poet and *littérateur*. The rest of her letters are merely an account of her day to day life, her social and other engagements, her visits to religious communities, her meetings with more or less distinguished men. She is a devout Catholic and dwells repeatedly with satisfaction upon the position of the Church in Canada. At Ottawa she stayed with Sir Wilfrid and Lady Laurier, for both of whom she expresses great admiration. Even so well-informed a lady as Mlle. Vianzone (in the signed photographs presented to her by President and Mrs. Roosevelt she is designated, curiously enough, " Madame " Vianzone)

**Geographical work of the Geological Survey of Canada, 1900-1905.* By A. P. Low. (Geographical Journal, September, 1906, pp. 277-279.)

†*Impressions d'une Française en Amérique.* Par Thérèse Vianzone. Paris : Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1906. Pp. 378.

cannot escape the fate of French writers in dealing with foreign names and styles of address. She speaks of " Sir Jetté " and " Sir Lacoste " and prints (we will not say writes) " Canghnawaya " for Caughnawaga. Toronto, which she has occasion to mention several times as on her route between Chicago and Montreal, is spelt phonetically as " Torento," once indeed with redundancy of letters as " Torrento."

M. Édouard Rod, the well known French novelist, has written a tiny little book on his impressions of America,* and devotes one chapter to the French-Canadians. He had been taken to see the new settlements north of Montreal which owe their existence to the colonizing zeal of Mgr. Labelle. With great literary skill he contrives in a few pages to convey something of the beauty and fascination of the typical Laurentian forest, but the spectacle of the French colonist in these primeval solitudes is what impresses him most. The solidarity of race is strongly exemplified in the sympathy with which this Parisian man of letters regards the frontiersmen of the Canadian wilderness. But, unlike most of his fellow-countrymen who visit Canada, he does not allow his natural sentiment to degenerate into sentimentality.

A book that should have been noticed before is M. de Beaumont's narrative of a journey through Canada.† The author is already known as the somewhat heated historian of the wrongs of the Acadians. His journey was undertaken as the representative of the Alliance Française. The combination in the traveller of the two points of view may be imagined. He travels in the past as much as the present. The Acadian settlements, the military preparations of the French, the attacks of the New England colonists, the final expulsion of French and Acadians alike, are present to

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**Reflets d'Amerique.* Par Édouard Rod. Paris : E. Sansot et Cie, 1905. Pp. 120.

†*Une France oubliée : L'Acadie.* Par Gaston Du Boscq de Beaumont. Paris : Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1902. Pp. 192.

his imagination when the surveys the fishing villages of the New Brunswick coast from the Intercolonial Railway, the garden-like cultivation of Prince Edward Island, the mountains, land-locked bays and industrial activities of Cape Breton and the mainland of Nova Scotia. When he lets his mind dwell on present conditions, he sees only a renewed French population, the descendants of those Acadians who escaped deportation, holding sullenly aloof from the English-speaking majority, persecuted (!), but tenacious of language, religion, devotion to France, and still cherishing resentment for the cruel treatment of their ancestors one hundred and fifty years ago. All of this is very romantic and interesting, but is it true ? In an unguarded moment he admits the difficulty in preventing these very Acadians of modern times from forgetting their French when they live in close juxtaposition with English settlers.

" La jeune génération, qui sait lire et écrire, parle plus correctement, mais son français a moins de profondeur que celui des vieillards ; . . . . quelques-uns ont involontairement recours à l'anglais quand ils veulent s'expliquer entre eux d'une façon plus précise " (p. 84).

His travels extended into the province of Quebec, where the Indian settlements appear to have interested him most.

M. de Périgny* is a more frivolous traveller. His chapters on Canada are limited to a description of a snow-shoeing party, an alleged verbatim report of a conversation by telephone between a bank-clerk and a young lady *à propos* of a dancing engagement, and a comment upon the custom of young persons engaged to be married taking walks together in spring and summer evenings. His experiences are all limited to Montreal, and he notes the practice, certainly quite local, of denominating the interesting couples as " blondes et cavaliers."

The Abbé Huard has collected into a book† certain letters of travel which he contributed to journals as a kind of special

*_En courant le monde._ Par Maurice de Périgny. Paris : Perrin et Cie, 1906. Pp. 238.

†_Impressions d'un passant._ Par l'Abbé V.-A. Huard. Quebec, 1906. Pp. 366.

correspondent. They are of various dates. He visited Lake St. John in 1899, the Pan-American Exhibition at Buffalo in 1901, and in 1904 made the trans-continental journey to Vancouver and Victoria, returning by the United States. There is nothing noteworthy in these impressions. Their author seems to pay attention only to details, and even petty details, upon which he exercises his vein of facetiousness. He would probably be an unfailingly cheerful *compagnon de voyage*, but his jocosity in this book grows tiresome.

The meeting of the American Library Association at Portland, Oregon, in 1905, was followed by pleasure excursions in various directions. A book of photographic views has been made up* illustrating the journeys taken and is preceded by a short itinerary and description of the routes. The pictures are not particularly good, but they doubtless serve as a reminder of the glories actually seen.

Labrador, from Lake Melville to Ungava Bay. By Mrs. Leonidas Hubbard, Jr. (Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, September, 1906, pp. 530-539.)

My explorations in unknown Labrador. By Mina B. Hubbard. (Harper's Monthly Magazine, May, 1906, pp. 813-823.)

The long Labrador trail, the compact with Hubbard fulfilled. By Dillon Wallace. (Outing, August-December, 1906.)

In the *Bulletin* of the American Geographical Society Mrs. Hubbard gives an account of her expedition to Labrador in 1905, in which she successfully accomplished what her unfortunate husband had failed to do in 1903, viz., to ascend the Nauscapee river to Lake Michikamau and to descend the George river to Ungava Bay. Her paper is for the most part a mere itinerary, with indications as to the country traversed

**The Far North-West, being a record, with pictures, of a journey over the Canadian Pacific to Alaska, to California, and to the Yellowstone, and home by the Northern Pacific, in July, 1905.* Newark, 1906. Pp. 40. Illustrations.

and occasional notes on the animals and vegetation observed and the striking physical features of the river channel. The description of the earlier part of her journey up the Nauscapee river is, as it were, reversed. She gives a succinct statement of the course of the river from its source to its mouth, and in that order, not of course, the way in which it was explored. A map accompanies the paper. A more popular account of the expedition is contributed by Mrs. Hubbard to *Harper's Monthly Magazine*. Her chief geographical discovery has been the identification of the Northwest river and Nauscapee river as one and the same stream, which drains successively Lake Michikamau and Seal Lake.

The magazine *Outing* contained, during the last half of 1906, monthly instalments of Mr. Dillon Wallace's narrative of his second Labrador expedition which he too undertook to prove that the project of Hubbard, to ascend from Lake Melville to Lake Michikamau and thence to descend by the George river to Ungava Bay, was feasible. He pursued much the same course as Mrs. Hubbard, except that instead of working up the valley of the Nauscapee to Seal Lake, he turned off to the east a few miles from its mouth and followed an old Indian trail which only rejoined the river route at Seal Lake. Neither Mrs. Hubbard nor Wallace makes any allusion to the expedition of the other, and yet these were practically contemporaneous.

Mrs. Hubbard's party left the Northwest River Post, at the outlet of Grand Lake, on June 27th in the afternoon. Wallace had left the Post the previous evening, spending the night some three miles away on the shores of Grand Lake. Mrs. Hubbard gives us no further dates except those of reaching Seal Lake (July 17th) Lake Michikamau (August 2nd) the height of land to the north of Michikamau (August 10th) and Ungava Post (August 27th). Wallace travelled more slowly. Moreover he deliberately chose to explore the old Indian trail between the lower Nauscapee river and Seal Lake, rather than follow the river channel. He did not reach Seal

Lake apparently until August 4th, nor Lake Michikamau until September 3rd. Beyond this point his narrative, so far as contained in the numbers of the magazine issued in 1906, does not go.

In his statement of the preliminary arrangements for the expedition Mr. Wallace says that the country through which they travelled was to be mapped and observations were to be made of the geological formation and of the flora. Doubtless a more elaborate and scientific narrative is in preparation, either by Mr. Wallace himself or by his associates, for nothing could be less informing than the present account. It is almost studiously vague as to times and distances, and there is no map to assist the reader in following their course. In fact this series of articles is the merest journalism, written for those who expect nothing from the magazine article except a few minutes' amusement, and who would skip all figures or attempts at exact description. Thus we hear a great deal about the enjoyment of meals, the discomfort of rain and black flies, and the toil of portages. It would not be necessary to go to Labrador in order to write an account of these inevitable incidents of a canoe trip.

In another respect Mr. Wallace shows that he is a consummate journalist, viz., in the sentimental use which he makes of Hubbard's unfortunate death in the former expedition. When he wrote his *Lure of the Labrador Wild*, fresh from the terrible experiences of that expedition, it was natural that he should feel deeply and express strongly his emotion over the sufferings and death of his comrade. It was easily pardonable that he should even have come to regard Hubbard's plan as a heroic resolve which was baffled by adverse fate and converted into a tragedy. But there is not the same excuse for the sentimental outpourings which diversify the present narrative of portaging, fishing and eating. Mr. Wallace no doubt was frequently reminded of his former expedition, and he might very naturally have his moments of sadness in the recollection of his friend's lamentable end.

But it is hardly necessary to let the public into the secret of these musings, which most right-minded readers will wish had been left in the entire privacy of Mr. Wallace's diary.

There is also an unwarrantable assumption about all the references to Hubbard against which it is time to protest. Hubbard cherished no great purpose in planning his expedition other than making a trip which nobody had done before him, and thus providing himself with acceptable " copy " for the magazine with which he was connected. His diary, published last year in *Outing*, shows this clearly enough. He wished to do something surprising. Many an ambitious young man has the same desire. He made most inadequate preparations, and his failure to carry out his plan, and indeed his death, were solely due to his own mistakes both of preparation and of execution. He showed, indeed, indomitable pluck and a most unfortunate persistence in pressing on when prudence should have made him turn back. We honour these manly characteristics and regret that a promising life was prematurely ended. But he was not a great explorer, nor was there anything heroic in the expedition which he planned, and which has since been easily carried out by two parties. In one of them a woman, Mrs. Hubbard, took part; she accomplished the journey in two months. Many a railway surveying party takes greater risks and does more genuine exploration. The real heroes of Labrador exploration are Mr. A. P. Low and his predecessors in the service of the Geological Survey of Canada, and the record of their achievements is to be found in the official Reports of the Survey.

An interesting article by Mr. G. Kobbé* deals with the Moravian mission settlements in northern Labrador and their influence over the Eskimos of that region. The writer gives due credit to the missionaries for their self-denying lives and moral example, but he thinks that a little of the sporting

**Down on the Labrador.* By Gustav Kobbé. (Century Magazine, December, 1906, pp. 672-682.)

proclivity and muscular Christianity of the English missionary would increase the respect of the natives for their teachers. As it is, the conceit of the Eskimos has been found to be an obstacle to their reception of instruction from their unathletic home-keeping pastors.

Report on the Dominion Government expedition to Hudson Bay and the Arctic islands on board the D. G. S. Neptune, 1903-1904. By A. P. Low. Ottawa : Government Printing Bureau, 1906. Pp. xviii, 356.

The decision of the Dominion Government to take measures to assert its authority over the great northern waters and islands which the maps have always assigned to British North America was eminently proper and timely. The habit of American whalers to frequent Hudson Bay as if it was the high seas might in time lead to international complications, and the establishment of a post of Mounted Police in the immediate neighbourhood of the fishing-ground will accustom them to the enforcement of Canadian jurisdiction. The hoisting of the Canadian flag at various points among the Arctic islands, while chiefly sentimental, has also political significance, and if followed regularly by cruises in the nature of police patrols it will be an effectual assertion of sovereignty.

The scientific aspect of the expedition was perhaps fully as important as the political, and Mr. Low's report is in this respect the most valuable contribution to our knowledge of the land round the northern portion of Hudson Bay that has appeared for many years. Several doubtful questions of topography have been cleared up and the foundation has been laid for the construction of a complete and accurate chart of Hudson Strait and the northern waters of Hudson Bay. In some important respects the map has been rectified as a result of this cruise. Thus, a large island has hitherto always been represented as lying to the south-east of Northampton Island and the name Bell Island given to it. A considerable strait appeared to separate it from its neighbour on the west.

Mr. Low supplies good reason for supposing that this is entirely wrong, and that the so-called Bell Island is nothing but a peninsular portion of Northampton Island.

After the account of the voyage there is a lengthy historical summary of Arctic exploration, which perhaps might have been omitted. It seems out of place in a work of this kind to include a narrative based upon printed materials easily accessible. The concluding paragraph of the chapter speaks of Sverdrup's expedition, in which the western Arctic islands and the channels between them were mapped and named, as finishing the work of Arctic exploration begun three centuries before. But before the sentence was printed, or perhaps even written, a much more striking conclusion was reached in the accomplishment of Amundsen's voyage completely through the American Arctic sea from east to west.

Other chapters describe the Arctic islands, the geology of the whole area, the history and process of whaling both in Hudson Bay and in the Arctic waters, the conditions and difficulties of navigation in Hudson Bay, and the Eskimos. Information on the last named subject was obtained by Mr. Low from the Rev. E. J. Peck, a missionary among them,* and Captain Comer, a whaler of long experience, and he made his own observations besides. He gives a kind of census of the Eskimos, finding the total number in the eastern half of Arctic America to be from 3,400 to 3,700 persons. In spite of minor tribal differences, due in some respects to conditions of habitat, they are all essentially one race, speaking the same language and possessing the same peculiarities of manners and beliefs. His account of their superstitious usages and taboos is very interesting, and here the anthropologist will find valuable material for comparative purposes. The many instances already known of the Eskimo's skill in adapting himself to his uninviting surroundings would be sufficient evidence of the cleverness of the race, but Mr. Low gives an amazing proof, if one be needed, of their superiority in intellect

*See his Life by the Rev. Arthur Lewis reviewed in vol. ix, p. 153.

to the Indian when he tells us that the art of reading and writing, in the syllabic shorthand invented by Evans for his Cree version of the Bible, is almost universal among the Labrador Eskimos. It is far from universal among the Indians for whom it was invented. The introduction of this convenient notation in Labrador is due to Mr. Peck, who in 1877 first circulated among his converts selections from the Bible translated into their language and printed with these characters. In his Life, mentioned above, the surprising ease with which his converts learned to read them is mentioned. Here is Mr. Low's account of the progress of education among this remarkable people :

"A great many Eskimos have never come in contact with the missionaries ; notwithstanding this, there are only a few of the Labrador natives who cannot read and write, while the natives of Baffin island are rapidly reaching the same state. Every native who learns to read, and who possesses a book, becomes the teacher of the uninstructed ; in this manner education is spreading rapidly. A good example is found in the natives on the northwest coast of Hudson Bay, several of whom have learned to read from the Big island natives on the Scotch whaler, who were in turn instructed by visiting Eskimos from Cumberland Gulf."

There are six Appendices to the volume containing various scientific data collected by the various members of the expedition. A short popular account of the expedition has been written by Mr. L. J. Burpee in *The Wide World Magazine* for June, 1906 (pp. 234-241).

The voyage of Amundsen through the Arctic seas from east to west of America has been the final word in the story of the search for a north-west passage to Asia. A Dutch periodical contains an interesting sketch* of the progress of discovery in that region, beginning with Frobisher's voyage in 1576. The earlier voyages are more particularly described, the series of Franklin relief expeditions being dismissed very briefly in view of the extensive literature of the subject already existing. Amundsen's voyage is concisely dealt with, the itinerary only being given and a few details as to the weather which he met with. His own narrative, with his

**De noord-westelijke doorvaart.* Door J. Mar. Ruys. (Vragen des Tijds, Juli-Aug. 1906, pp. 311-332.)

topographical discoveries and his determination of the magnetic pole, will doubtless be forthcoming before long, and ought to be of great interest to Canadian geographers. Meanwhile we must be content to know that the first actual passage from Atlantic to Pacific to the north of the American continent has at last been accomplished after more than three hundred years of unsuccessful attempts.

In MacMillan's Magazine Mr. H. C. Thomson* declares the *Keynote of Canada* to be the spirit of justice and fair dealing. His instance is the treatment accorded to the Indians.

> " The Canadian Government has never attempted to force the Indians to labour either by direct or indirect compulsion, by hut taxes, or taxes on additional wives, or by any other similar expedient. They have not been in a hurry to exploit the resources of their country ; they have allowed them to develop slowly but surely, and the Indian intelligence to develop slowly with them."

The implied comparison here is, of course, with the treatment of the Kaffirs in South Africa. The great instrument of the Canadian Government in their day to day management of the principal Indian tribes has been the North-west Mounted Police, and much of Mr. Thomson's article is devoted to an appreciative account of the work of that force. He sums up in one sentence the special merit of their dealings with the Indians :

> " In Canada the police, from the first, seem to have regarded the Indians as a people of limited intelligence, especially entrusted to them to protect, to educate, and to raise."

Sir Gilbert Parker† discusses the growth of western Canada in the twenty years from 1885 to 1905. He speaks also of the methods employed by the Canadian Government to encourage immigration of British settlers, and deplores the absence of co-operation in that direction by the imperial authorities. The anticipated " Americanization " of Canada is in his view not imminent.

**The Keynote of Canada.* By H. C. Thomson. (Macmillan's Magazine, December, 1906, pp. 151-160.)

†*Canada after Twenty Years.* By Sir Gilbert Parker. (National Review, December, 1905, pp. 708-735.)

In Mr. Heaton's excellent summary of trade information* the first fifteen pages deal, under the heading of " commercial information and hints to traders," with such topics as rates of exchange, trade hints, legal tender, commercial paper and days of grace, and legislation concerned with the regulation of trade in agricultural products. The advice on page 3 " Do not try to educate buyers—but manufacture to meet the local requirements," should be posted up in the office of every firm engaged in the export trade. The expansion of the American trade in manufactured products has been hampered by neglect of this, and at the beginning of its industrial activity it is important for Canada to bear these considerations in mind. The special article on the American invasion of the north-west indicates the advantages the American manufacturer has because of his proximity to the new market. The Canadian retailer, handling American goods, can easily replenish his supplies and therefore carries smaller stocks than when he is handling British goods. The summaries of banking statistics, legal information and customs information are in compendious form. The customs information does not, however, include the new Canadian tariff. The table giving rates of wages (p. 255) is defective in that it does not indicate the source whence the information is obtained. Neither does it differentiate the information according to trades and localities. The result is that it gives non-characteristic averages.

M. Gérin† holds that it is absolutely necessary for the French-Canadian thoroughly to acquaint himself with the modern complicated industrial processes. Notwithstanding the increasing social complexity the French-Canadian retains old educational methods and the simple organization which sufficed for earlier days. Social science is to M. Gérin the

*_The Commercial Handbook of Canada._ Edited by Ernest Heaton. Toronto, 1906. Pp. 265.

†_La Vulgarisation de la Science Sociale chez les Canadiens Français._ Par Léon Gérin. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 2nd series, vol. xi, sect. i, pp. 67-88.)

science of social groupings, including under this the investigation of economic, sociological and governmental phenomena. Here deductive methods are insufficient. For modern sociological investigations still remain in the realm of philosophical abstractions. Some critics would hardly admit that these abstractions were philosophic. The most fruitful results, M. Gérin holds, are to be obtained by following the inductive and intensive methods of Le Play. While he concludes " vulgarisons la science sociale et la science sociale nous sauvera," he has apparently no clear idea of what concrete results will be obtained from such study. He proposes methods whereby societies to study social groups may be organized. But when he attempts to show the effects, both direct and indirect, to be obtained from such studies he has, in substance, to content himself with saying that there is great educational value in such studies in social logic.

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*The Canada Year Book** takes the place of the Statistical Year Book of Canada. In making the change, all material not bearing directly on Canada has been eliminated, with the result that the publication has been cut down in bulk by one-half. It is the intention to publish, in future, statistics of the provincial and British statistics in special bulletins. The introductory section of xli pages gives a clear and fairly comprehensive summary of matters concerned with public policy. In the statistical section the practice of including explanatory comment, which was carried to such an extent in the Statistical Year Book, is given up. While exports and imports are classified by countries according to values, it would add to the value of the tabulations if details in regard to the commodities by countries were also included. In view of the part the bounty system is playing in tariff legislation the omission to give details in regard to the sums paid under the heading is unfortunate. The volume would also be im-

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**The Canada Year Book, 1905.* Second series. Ottawa : S. E. Dawson, 1906. Pp. xii, 352.

proved if it contained a tabular summary of *per capita* statistics of consumption for Canada. Yet this concise and handy form marks a decided advance in usefulness.

The importance of economic and social factors in the development of Canada is recognized by the devotion of more than one-fourth of the space of *The Canadian Annual Review** to topics falling under these headings. If we add phases of development incidentally dependent on economic factors, the space devoted to such topics would be much larger. In the summary of matters relating to transporation there is a cardinal omission, in that no attempt is made to appraise the value of the work done by the Railway Commission. Attention should also be devoted to the fact that Parliament is showing a tendency to transfer awkward questions demanding settlement to the Commission. The result is that the Canadian Commission, early in its existence, is approximating to the conditions which have developed in connection with the English Railway and Canal Commission, and is becoming an industrial court. The matters concerning banking, insurance and industrial conditions are presented in chronological and in tabular form. A consideration of the extent to which industrial development may be leading to the over-expansion of banking facilities would be essential to a proper development of this phase of the subject.

Le Subside Fédéral, Étude d'Histoire politique relative au rajustement de la subvention fédérale aux provinces. Par Alphonse Lessard. Quebec, 1906. Pp. 28.

Dr. Lessard's study of the subsidy question has as a background his belief that prior to Confederation the French-Canadians had constantly to struggle against an attempt to anglicize them. The desire to make Canada predominatingly English he also believes was present in the minds of the Eng-

**The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1905.* By J. Castell Hopkins. Toronto : The Annual Review Publishing Company, Limited. [1906.] Pp. 634.

lish-speaking representatives who participated in the deliberations leading up to the British North America Act. In these deliberations, he holds, the English-speaking representatives, foiled in an endeavour to obtain a legislative union, determined, through the supplying of inadequate revenues, to narrow the field of provincial activity in general, and that of Quebec in particular.

In the growth of expenditures which, to an outsider, seems to have been extravagant but which to Dr. Lessard was justified by the peculiar needs of Quebec, the provincial revenues were soon found to be inadequate and a demand for increased federal subsidies developed. The demand began in 1883, when Mr. Würtele, Treasurer in the Mousseau administration, held that increased federal contributions should be made. Since that date this has been urged, with an unanimity independent of political affiliations, by successive administrations. While it is true that the province has power to raise revenue by recourse to direct taxation, Dr. Lessard points out that the French-Canadian is unalterably opposed to such a policy. Any attempt to enforce direct taxation would, to quote his words, plunge the provincial institutions into a deep gulf of unpopularity.

He argues that the increase in subsidies should keep pace with the increase in the federal revenues. And to this end he proposes that one-fourth of the federal revenues should be distributed to the provinces on a *per capita* basis. The provincial subsidy feature of the British North America Act is one of its compromise features and has manifest defects. By leaving the way open for constant bargainings for " better terms " it has enabled provinces to escape paying adequate attention to economy in financial management. It has also, in part, aided the tendency towards centralization of functions in the hands of the federal government. While Dr. Lessard's treatment of the subject is biased by a belief that the subsidy system was intended to subvert the legitimate subdivision of power between the central and the provincial governments,

it attracts attention to a phase of the governmental system to-day not sufficiently considered.

Protection and prices and the Farmers' homemarket. By Watson Griffin. Reprinted from "Industrial Canada." Toronto, 1906. Pp. 300.

Canada's tariff mood towards the United States. By Edward Porritt. (North American Review, April, 1906, pp. 565-578.)

Canadian manufacturers' tariff campaign. By Watson Griffin. (Ibid., August, 1906, pp. 195-206.)

Farmers and the tariff. By E. C. Drury. (Canadian Magazine, April, 1906, pp. 556-560.)

The anti-dumping feature of the Canadian tariff. By Adam Shortt. (Quarterly Journal of Economics, February, 1906, pp. 250-258.)

Colonial tariffs. By J. W. Root. Liverpool : J. W. Root, 1906. Pp. xii, 312.

Trade combinations in Canada. By W. W. Edgar. (Journal of Political Economy, July, 1906, pp. 427-434.)

Canada and the United States. By Edward Farrer. (Contemporary Review, October, 1906, pp. 550-563.)

The taking of evidence by the Canadian Tariff Commission during the year, with a view to the parliamentary revision of the tariff which took place at the end of the year, prompted the publication of much campaign literature on either side. The chief of these are enumerated above.

Mr. Griffin argues that the necessary result of protection is increased competition and lower prices. But the western farmer, who has previously resided in the north-western States, fears that the further outcome of competition, carried to an inordinate extent, will be combination. In the United States the protective obstacle in the way of free importation has led to the investment of foreign capital in industry. Once this capital is invested it is prone to urge that there should be further protection to protect it from foreign competition. To all such considerations Mr. Griffin rejoins "If the request of the Canadian manufacturers for increased protection is

granted, instead of the money of our farmers going over to the United States to pay American workingmen it will remain in Canada and be paid out in wages to Canadian workmen, who will send much of it back to Canadian farmers in payment for food" (p. 44.) When he contends " if there had been in force in Canada during the last thirty years a policy of ' Canada for the Canadians '—a policy of protection as thorough as that which has so wonderfully developed the United States, there would be very few Canadians over the border to-day " (p. 52), he makes a claim difficult to maintain. He approves of the time-worn fallacious argument of Abraham Lincoln, " when we buy rails in foreign countries we get the rails and the foreigner gets the money. When we buy the rails in our own country we have both the rails and the money " (p. 77). It is hardly necessary to attract attention to the fact that it is not money but money's worth—the commodities received —that is of public concern.

Mr. Porritt reviews the evidence presented in the hearings before the Canadian Tariff Commission. He discusses (1) the attitude of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association towards the British preference, (2) the popular attitude on the question of reciprocity. The Canadian Manufacturers' Association, he contends, is opposed to the preference. At the same time he holds, without proving his contention, that recent investigations in Canada, e.g., that of the plumbers' combine, have aroused public feeling against the higher protection which the manufacturers desire, since these investigations have shown that protection facilitates raising prices through combinations. For those who are moving in the United States for a more tolerant treatment of Canadian trade, with a view to expanding American exports to Canada, he has scant comfort ; for he states, what is now a truism, that reciprocity is a dead issue. Turning to the imperial aspects of the tariff question he holds that the Chamberlain preferential scheme is, in the light of existing conditions in Canada, an impossibility.

In traversing the allegation of Mr. Porritt that the Canadian Manufacturers' Association is hostile to the British preference, Mr. Griffin admits that the minimum tariff must afford adequate protection to all Canadian manufacturers. The Association is opposed to any policy which will prevent or limit the development of Canadian resources. Thus the Manufacturers' Association, while willing to have a British or even an imperial preference, insists that this shall leave the net protection to Canadian industry untouched.

Mr. Drury's paper, which was in the first instance an address given before the Canadian Club of Toronto, is an explanation by a representative farmer of the opposition which many farmers do undoubtedly manifest towards the movement for higher protection. The difficulty the government has had to face, in its recent tariff revision, in attempting to strike a balance between contending interests, is well illustrated by the tone of this article. Summarizing the farmer's position Mr. Drury contends (1) that no protective tariff can be of any benefit to the Canadian farmers in general ; (2) that protection raises prices to the farmer, and subjects him to unfair competition for labour since the increased demand for labour in manufactures has raised the rate of wages ; (3) that the farmers need more relief than any other class since they have not been able to hold their own numerically. While he recognizes the importance of the home market he holds that, even if industry is stimulated by high protection, the foreign market must always remain an important outlet for agricultural products. His conclusion is that in any tariff revision the farmers should be given redress through the reduction of productive duties and the extension of the British preference.

Professor Shortt in his concise and illuminating paper clearly recognizes that "dumping" subjects the Canadian manufacturer to unfair and illicit competition. The anti-dumping feature of the Canadian tariff, which in the revision of the tariff now under way is extended to the free list, he approves as a most efficient fiscal device which is able to deal effectively with such detrimental competition.

In a book treating of the general tariff policy of colonies Mr. J. W. Root deals with Canadian tariff policy. He is of opinion that the tariff policy of Canada has been dominated by the idea of preventing the fiscal absorption of Canada by the United States. He can see no other reason for high protection in Canada. He objects to the surtax and the anti-dumping provisions on the ground that they hamper importers in the conduct of their business. The conclusions concerning Canada are hardly based on a wide consideration of the subject.

Mr. Edgar gives a summary—too summary—review of the legislation in Canada in regard to trade combinations and presents the more salient features of the recent investigations of combinations in trade. A much more detailed investigation of the general situation is necessary before any adequate appreciation of the combination problem in Canada can be obtained. Mr. Edgar's conclusion that at present " no person has cause to dread the effects of unjust discrimination or unfair intimidation " would be more consoling if it was based on a more comprehensive survey of the facts, and after a period sufficiently long to permit the efficiency of existing legislation to be tested.

A discursive review of the politico-economic relations of Canada and the United States is given by Mr. Farrer. He minimizes the importance of the Canadian complaints regarding the treatment which the United States has meted out to Canada. In a spirit of vicious cosmopolitanism Mr. Farrer argues that " our mission in Canada should be, by every means in our power, short of self-effacement, to promote still friendlier relations, that the schism in the English-speaking race may be healed to the enormous benefit of mankind." Why should not the United States also enter upon a rôle of international altruism ?

History of the Lumber Industry of America. By James Elliott Defebaugh. Volume 1. Second edition. Chicago : The American Lumberman, 1906. Pp. xiii, 559.

Of the 3,015,000 square miles of wooded area in North America, British North America has 1,725,000. The author of this book finds that in respect of tree growth there is no dividing line between Canada and the United States. While about half of the tree species of the continent belonging to the southern States do not appear in Canada, the conditions in Canada and in the northern States are practically the same.

Lumber has always been a more important item in the export trade of Canada than in that of the United States. The waterways of Canada afforded a ready means of taking timber to the seaboard. The over-sea trade was helped on by the fact that until the middle of the last century the American cut readily supplied the American home demand. The author adds to the legal and statistical summaries a personal note by giving some account of the individuals who have been or are to-day engaged in the lumber industry. He is well acquainted with the various parliamentary investigations on the subject.

While we could wish that he had criticized legislation and policy, his aim is not criticism but exposition. In this he shows adequate insight, and his material is set forth in a clear and orderly manner. The usefulness of the book would, however, have been increased had there been an index. The work will serve as a storehouse of information for all who are interested in an industry which has played a very important part in the industrial development of Canada and which, under the application of scientific methods, will be a continuing source of national wealth.

Present forestry conditions are the subject of two slight articles in the *National Geographic Magazine** and are also dealt with more fully in the Annual Reports of the Canadian Forestry Association† and the Government Superintendent

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**The Forests of Canada.* By Sir Wilfrid Laurier. (National Geographical Magazine, September, 1906, pp. 504-509.)

The Vast Timber Belts of Canada. By H. S. Culver. (Ibid., pp. 509-511.)

†*Canadian Forestry Association. Sixth Annual Report*, 1905. Ottawa : Government Printing Bureau, 1905. Pp. 124.

of Forestry.* In both of these reports, the outstanding topics are fire prevention and the consideration of means whereby under scientific forestry, the forest wealth of Canada may be used, not wasted. In addition to discussion and resolutions bearing on these topics, the report of the Association contains two specially valuable papers, one by Mr. J. C. Langelier on " The Forest Wealth of the Province of Quebec," the other by Dr. Judson F. Clark, until recently Forester of the Province of Ontario, on " The Forest as a National Resource."

The magazines have contained several descriptive articles on the remarkable railway building which is taking place in Canada at present. The Grand Trunk Pacific is the subject of some popular contributions by Mr. Hugh Lumsden (*Scribner's Magazine*, July), Cy Warman (Ibid.), and Norman Patterson (*Canadian Magazine*, April). A much better informed paper is that on the Canadian Northern by Mr. James W. Davidson (*Queen's Quarterly*, Oct.-December). Already this new line has transformed the hitherto almost unpeopled region between Winnipeg and Lake Superior into a country of flourishing towns. The account of the development between Winnipeg and Edmonton is truly wonderful. There are now towns where two years ago was found only the wilderness. Mr. Davidson has seen Manchuria, Mongolia, Asiatic Russia and the United States, and he declares this west to be " the greatest unbroken tract of fertile land that exists anywhere."

The efflux of population to the United States during Canada's lean years has been a vexing question to the Canadian publicist. In the years when Canada and Euclid's definition of a line were well nigh synonymous the attraction of the greater mass of population in the United States was exceedingly important. Dr. Wickett's valuable and informing

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**Report of the Superintendent of Forestry, 1905.* Ottawa : Government Printing Office, 1906. Pp. 28.

paper* shows how great this drain has been. He estimates that during the past half century Canadians and their descendants contributed an addition of 2,200,000 to the population of the United States. While it is impossible to make an accurate estimate, Dr. Wickett, using an accepted statistical index, considers that the money value of this addition to the population of the United States has been at least $1,600,000,000, and this is probably a moderate statement. His optimistic conclusion that the presence of many Canadians in the United States is a pledge of amity and peace is not so trustworthy. Those Canadians who, after becoming naturalized, have attained to official positions in the United States, are prone to out-American the Americans in vocal devotion to the country of their adoption.

Annual Report of the Geological Survey of Canada (new series). Vol. XIV, 1901. Ottawa, 1905. Pp. 980, Maps.

Annual Report of the Geological Survey of Canada (new series) Vol. XV, 1902-3. Ottawa, 1906. Pp. 981, Maps.

Summary Report of the Geological Survey Department of Canada for the calendar year 1905. Ottawa, 1906. Pp. 144, Maps.

Geological Survey of Canada, Section of Mines, Annual Report for 1904. Ottawa, 1906. Pp. 162.

Much of the material contained in the large annual volume of the Geological Survey for 1901 has already been referred to in this REVIEW in connection with the summary reports of that and later years ; so that the present notice need not go into detail. In Part B Mr. McConnell discusses the Klondike gold fields ; in Part F, Mr. Dowling gives the results of exploration on Equan river and other parts of the west coast of Hudson Bay. In Part H, Dr. Barlow makes a comprehensive report on the Sudbury nickel-mining region ;

**Canadians in the United States.* By S. Morley Wickett. (Political Science Quarterly, June, 1906, pp. 190-205.)

while in J, Dr. Ells discusses the geology of part of eastern Ontario and in M, the Pictou coal-field is described by Mr. H. S. Poole. The large case of 26 maps includes the results of surveys extending from the Yukon and British Columbia to Nova Scotia.

The Annual Report for 1902-3, while as bulky as usual, is made up chiefly of summary reports for the two years, which have already been reviewed. Of the individual reports F takes up the geology of the Souris coal-field, and S gives the report of the Section of Mines. The 21 maps have a separate enclosure and include portions of all the provinces except New Brunswick. It is a pity that the monumental volumes of the Survey reports reach the public so long after the field work on which they are based has been done that they lose much of their interest. The recent policy of the Survey in publishing very full summary reports robs the delayed annual reports of most of their freshness.

The summary for 1905 begins with the Acting Director's general account of the work done by the 37 officers in the field and a statistical table of the mineral output for the year. Statistics of the more important products are as follows :

	Metallic.		
Copper	$ 7,420,451		
Gold	14,486,833		
Pig iron from Canadian ore	1,047,860	Total metallic,	
Lead	2,634,084		
Nickel	7,550,526		$,37,150,830
Silver	3,605,957		
Other metals	405,119		
Total, non-metallic			22,266,393
Total structural materials			8,857,484
Total, 1905			$68,574,707

Of the non-metallic products coal was mined to the value of $17,658,615, surpassing gold in its output. The total mineral production is the highest recorded and represents an advance of $8,500,000 over the previous year, about 14 per cent., in spite of a considerable falling off in the production of gold in the Klondike.

Several new and interesting fields were explored during the year, the first to be mentioned being the head waters of

White river along the base of the lofty St. Elias range in the Yukon, where Mr. McConnell was at work. Large glaciers are common but seem to be stagnant or retreating, the lower part of the Klutlan glacier being covered with soil on which trees grow. The rocks are Palaeozoic, Mesozoic and Tertiary with many eruptives. Gold is widely found but not in large quantities. Mr. McConnell visited also the promising new mining region of Windy Arm in north-west British Columbia where rich silver ores have been discovered in porphyrites. Mr. Keele surveyed part of the Stewart river region in the Yukon, and Mr. Camsell, Peel river and some of its tributaries in the direction of the mouth of the Mackenzie river. The rocks of the latter region are in part Tertiary containing lignite coal, which was found to be burning at one place. The Unuk river region of northern British Columbia is briefly reported on by Mr. F. E. Wright of the United States Survey, who finds mainly coast range granite penetrating Palaeozoic sediments. Discoveries of ores of gold, silver and copper have recently been made in the region. Dr. Ells and Dr. Poole report on the coal-fields of Queen Charlotte and Vancouver islands, and Messrs. Dowling and Cairnes on coal areas in Alberta.

Three parties were at work in the Hudson Bay region and two others in northern Ontario. The Muskoka district is reported on by Dr. T. L. Walker, who finds a variety of ancient sediments and eruptives, including many rocks of the Grenville series. An interesting report is made on the Niagara district by Dr. J. W. Spencer who had formerly worked on the Pleistocene problems of southern Ontario. As a result of a re-survey of the Falls it is found that the rate of recession since 1890 has been only half as great as that shown by former surveys, i.e. 2.2 feet per annum instead of 4½ or 5. The Cobalt silver-mining region in Coleman and Bucke townships naturally attracted much attention and Dr. Bell himself gives an interesting report on it. A more detailed account of the region occurs in the report of the Bureau of Mines of Ontario,

showing the economic importance of this new silver-mining district. This was referred to in last year's REVIEW. The remainder of the summary is devoted mainly to work in Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and to an account of the additions to the mineral and botanical collections of the Survey.

The Report of the Section of Mines gives final details of the mineral production of Canada up to 1904 ; but as the returns for that year were summarized in the last number of this REVIEW it is not necessary to repeat them here.

Report of the Ontario Bureau of Mines, Part III, 1905. Toronto, 1905. Pp. 188. Map.

Report of the Minister of Lands and Mines of the Province of Ontario, for the year 1905. Toronto, 1906. Pp. 137.

Annual Report of the Minister of Mines (British Columbia) for the year ending 31st Dec., 1905. Victoria, B.C., 1906. Pp. 375. Map and plates.

Report of the Department of Mines, Nova Scotia, 1905. Halifax, 1906. Pp. 173.

Report of Mining Operations in the Province of Quebec for the year 1905. Quebec, 1906. Pp. 43.

The Report of the Ontario Bureau of Mines for 1905 appeared in three parts, the third not being distributed till 1906. It consists of a final report on the Sudbury nickel field by Professor A. P. Coleman, and gives a detailed account of all the mines and prospects in that region, which includes the most important known nickel mines. All the ore bodies are found round the edge of a great sheet of eruptive rock 36 miles long and 16 wide. The largest mine is the Creighton which has produced more than half a million tons of ore. Ontario has now surpassed New Caledonia as a source of nickel, and produces more than half the nickel of the world.

The report of the Minister of Lands and Mines is really the report on the Lands side of the department and gives, in the first part, statements of expenditures on surveys, fire ranging, etc. The latter part consists of individual reports of

land surveyors on the base lines run and the townships surveyed during the year. From the tenor of the reports most of the work was done in the great northern clay belt. Brief reports are given also of the condition of Algonquin and Rondeau parks.

The British Columbia report begins as usual with statistics and then gives a detailed account of the mines in the different mining districts of the province. The statistics are as follows :

Gold, placer (ounces)	48,465	=$ 969,300
Gold, lode (ounces)	238,660	=4,933,102
Silver (ounces)	3,439,417	=1,971,818
Lead (pounds)	56,580,703	=2,399,022
Copper (pounds)	37,692,251	=5,876,222
Coal (long tons)	1,384,312	=4,152,936
Coke (long tons)	271,785	=1,358,925
Other materials		800,000
		$22,461,325

This represents an advance of nearly three and a half millions of dollars over 1904, showing that the depression of the last few years in the mining industry of the province is passing away. In addition to the usual reports on the mining divisions, Mr. W. F. Robertson, provincial mineralogist, gives an interesting account of a journey through the northern interior plateau between the Fraser and Skeena rivers, describing the topography and climate of this little known region of valleys, lakes and mountains, soon to be traversed by the Grand Trunk Pacific and other railways. The volume has the usual excellent photographic illustrations, which surpass those found in any other Canadian report.

The Nova Scotian report varies little in form from year to year and still gives its statistics in ounces and tons with no estimate of values. The important items are :

Gold (ounces)	15,550
Iron ore (tons)	75,600
Coal (tons)	5,050,420
Coke (tons)	367,778
Gypsum (tons)	197,292
Limestone (tons)	274,002

There is a slight falling off in the amount of coal produced and a large reduction in the native production of iron ore, though a foot-note states that 274,020 tons were imported,

no doubt mainly from Bell Island, Newfoundland. It is curious that the limestone and imported iron ore should reach precisely the same tonnage. Auriferous antimony receives some attention as being mined in one locality, and methods of smelting the ore and recovering the gold are referred to.

The Report on Mining Operations in Quebec, by Mr. J. Obalski, is rather meagre, since up to the present there are few mines of importance in the province except of asbestos. The statistics of production include asbestos to the value of $1,476,450, chromic iron ore valued at $104,565, and copper ore worth $128,850. Building materials to the value of $1,840,000 were produced ; and a total of $3,750,300 is made up of the substances mentioned and a few minor products. The geology of the new Chibogomo district in the north is described in extracts from a report by Mr. Low, who found gold and asbestos in the region. There is also a short report by H. Nagant on rare earths, some of which have been found in the province.

V. ARCHÆOLOGY, ETHNOLOGY AND FOLK-LORE

Annual Archæological Report, 1905. Toronto, 1906. Pp. 249, 51 figs.

The Great Déné Race. By A. G. Morice. (Anthropos, Vol. I, pp. 229-277, 483-508, 695-730.)

Catalogue des Manuscrits et des Imprimés en langues sauvages ainsi que des reliques indiennes exposés à Québec à l'occasion du XVe Congrès International des Américanistes, septembre, 1906. [Quebec, 1906.] Pp. 50.

The chief portion (pages 71-249) of Mr. Boyle's *Archæological Report for 1905* consists of a series of general accounts by competent authorities of the aboriginal peoples of Canada and Newfoundland. A brief "Historical Account" is furnished by Professor Cyrus Thomas, and there are articles on "Physical Types of the Indians of Canada," and "The Indian Languages of Canada" by Dr. Franz Boas. The latter also writes the sketches of the Eskimo, the Salish tribes of the interior of British Columbia, and the tribes of the North Pacific coast. The descriptions of the Beothuks of Newfoundland, the Indians of the eastern provinces of Canada and the Kootenay Indians of British Columbia are by Dr. Alexander F. Chamberlain. The Salish tribes of the coast and lower Fraser delta are treated by Mr. Charles Hill-Tout, the Canadian Dénés by Rev. A. G. Morice, the Blackfeet by Dr. Clark Wissler, the Central Algonkin (Ojibwa) by Dr. William Jones, and the Iroquois by Mr. David Boyle. This symposium was prepared for presentation to the Fifteenth International Congress of Americanists held at Quebec in September, 1906, by the members of which it was much appreciated. It is by far the most authoritative statement of the general facts of the ethnology of the Canadian aborigines in existence. Professor Thomas thinks that the Canadian north-west has been a great centre of distribution of the Indian tribes of North America; from the region north of the international boundary "the territory of the United States, as traditions testify, has been

peopled with a native population," especially east of the plains. From the cold region north of the Great Lakes came the Algonkian tribes, the Iroquois, etc., and from British Columbia Athapascan offshoots made their way to California, Arizona, and even to Mexico. From the Canadian north also may have descended the Shoshonean peoples. By the tenth century, the era of the Norsemen, the Eskimo had reached Greenland, the Algonkins the Atlantic seaboard. That Eskimo were at that period in Nova Scotia is doubted. Another matter of doubt is that any large section of the Iroquois proper (the Hochelagans were probably Hurons or some small cognate tribe) lived north of the St. Lawrence in the time of Cartier (1534). Professor Thomas's historical sketch contains many interesting facts and suggestions.

Dr. Boas's article on *Physical Types* is the word of an expert, who has himself accumulated much of the data upon which our knowledge of the subject is based. For the Mackenzie basin and the interior of Labrador there is practically no available material. In the region between the St. Lawrence and Lake Superior the *métissage* which has been going on since contact with the whites makes almost impossible the accurate determination of the earlier types. The types of Canadian aborigines now distinguishable are four: Eskimo, North Pacific coast type, western plateau type (interior of British Columbia), and Mississippi basin type (occupying the whole of the southern prairies of Canada). Of these the Eskimo, plateau and Mississippi valley types " are each quite uniform in the territory in which they occur," while the Pacific coast type " shows a remarkable degree of variability in different parts of the coast." One very interesting question raised is that of the origin of the long-headed New England type and its relation to the long-headed Huron type; both possibly reflect Eskimo influences. Outside of the extinct Beothukan of Newfoundland and the intrusive Siouan (represented by the Assiniboines of the North-west) there are in the Dominion of Canada the following *linguistic stocks* lexically distinct one

from another : Eskimo, Athapascan, Algonquian, Iroquoian, Kitunahan (Kootenay), Salishan, Wakashan (Kwakiutl-Nootka), Skittagetan (Haida), Tsimshian. Of each of these, brief sketches of grammar and morphology are given. Dr. Boas is of opinion that it is inaccurate to describe all the American Indian tongues as characterized by a single trait (e.g., "incorporation," "polysynthesis"), the truth being that there actually exists a great variety of forms.

Dr. Boas's account of the *Eskimo* is very suggestive, containing *multum in parvo*. He is of opinion that the Eskimos west of the Mackenzie are probably mixed with Indian elements, this foreign factor being especially marked in folk-lore and certain cultural possessions. The Chukchee of northeast Asia, he thinks, have adopted Eskimo customs, and not *vice versa*. From the description of the *Salish tribes* by Dr. Boas and Mr. Hill-Tout, it appears that the culture of the plateaus differs from that farther to the east and from that of the coast in possessing greater simplicity of social and religious life, such more complex forms as occur being clearly due to foreign influence. Equally absent from the plateaus are "the complex ritualistic symbolism of the plains Indians and the strict organization of the ritualistic brotherhoods and societies of the coast." In the North Pacific coast region there exist three groups of peoples ; the Tlingit-Haida-Tsimshian, or northern ; the Kwakiutl-Bilqula, or central ; and the Salish (Coast) Nootka, or southern. It is in the first of these groups that what may be termed the characteristic traits of North Pacific coast culture are most strongly developed, being weakest in the last. A remarkable diversity of types of social organization exists on the Pacific coast.

Dr. Jones's account of the social, material and religious life of the *Ojibwa* is noteworthy as the work of an Indian who has taken degrees at two great American universities and is now one of the investigators in the service of the Carnegie Institution at Washington. His views of Indian religion deserve special attention. Mr. David Boyle's article on the

Iroquois opposes the Brinton-Hale theory of a pristine home of this stock " north of the St. Lawrence," and suggests that their earliest habitat was " probably in Kentucky and southern Ohio." The sketch of *Blackfoot ethnology* by Dr. Wissler, who has several times visited these Indians, presents us with a " characterization of plains culture." (It is suggested, however, that the Blackfeet may have become a plains people after the introduction of the horse.) Into the plains (the open country of the west) they, presumably, came " out of the wooded lake area to the east, as did their kindred, the Arapaho and Cheyenne, where they gradually adopted the culture of the Sioux." There is reason to believe, Dr. Wissler thinks, that " the Gros Ventre, as a part of the Arapaho, acquired the culture of the plains first, and then passed it on to the Blackfoot." Another notable fact is that " the Sarcee, an Athapascan tribe, lived with the Blackfoot so long that they acquired the plains culture." Religiously the Blackfeet have recently borrowed something from the Kootenays, e.g., *ca.* 1890 the Black-tail Deer Dance.

Father Morice's monograph on the *Canadian Dénés*, by far the longest article in the Report, and his extensive discussion (not yet complete) of " the great Déné race," in *Anthropos*, the newly established international organ of the missionaries of an anthropological turn of mind (the general editor is Father Schmidt), constitute beyond a doubt the most authoritative pronouncement extant relating to the general subject of the Athapascan stock and its Canadian members in particular. It must be read in full to be thoroughly appreciated. Many new data concerning the past and present distribution of this important and widespread linguistic stock are given for the first time in these articles. They are particularly valuable for questions of nomenclature, for the corroboration or disproof of the statements of early travellers and explorers, and for new items drawn from the author's rich stores of personal experience during long years of residence among Canadian Dénés. The excellent illustrations

of the monograph published in *Anthropos* add to its usefulness. The distinctions between the northern and southern Dénés are some of them noted here for the first time.

The rest of the Report is made up of the list of additions to the Museum (some 130 specimens), "Notes on some Specimens" (flints, pipes, pottery, pictographs on buffalo-hide, etc.), a comprehensive article by W. J. Wintemberg on "Bone and Harpoon heads of the Ontario Indians" (pp. 33-56), the English text of a Wyandot myth of "The Sword and Belt of Orion" (pp. 68-70), by William S. Connelley, a brief paper on "Indian (Iroquois) Music" (pp. 56-59), by Dr. Boyle, and a discussion between the latter and Father Morice (pp. 59-65 ; 65-68) concerning the religious character of John McLean, the Hudson's Bay factor. Mr. Wintemberg notes that most of the harpoon-heads in question "were made during post-European times." A few, however, may be prehistoric. Nearly all were found within the territory once occupied by the Huron-Iroquois. At the meeting of Americanists in Quebec last September there was exhibited in one of the rooms of the Parliament Buildings an interesting collection of books and manuscripts in Indian languages, pictures, paintings, parchments, etc., relating to the aborigines, Indian relics, etc., the list of objects shown being limited to such as are now actually in the possession of the Archbishop of Quebec, Laval University, the Provincial Legislative Library, or belonging to private individuals in Quebec itself. The archaeological specimens exhibited by Laval University include many objects from the Huron country. One small group of weapons and implements exhibited seems to have been given to the Seminary of Quebec in 1813 by M. Wentzel, who obtained them from the Indians of the Mackenzie river country. The philologist would have cause for rejoicing were all the manuscripts printed.

ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN

Skalpieren und ähnliche Kriegsgebräuche in Amerika. Von Georg Friederici. Braunschweig, 1906. Pp. 172.

String Figures. A Study of Cat's Cradle in Many Lands. By Caroline Furness Jayne. With an Ethnological Introduction by Alfred C. Haddon. Illustrated. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906. Pp. xxiii, 407.

The Living Races of Mankind. A Popular Account of the Customs, Habits, Pursuits, Feasts and Ceremonies of the Races of Mankind. By Eminent Specialists, including Sir Harry Johnston, R. Lydekker, Dr. A H. Keane, H. N. Hutchinson, A. M. Savage-Landor, Dr. R. W. Shufeldt, Professor Langford. London, 1906. Pp. 776. With 882 illustrations and 25 coloured plates.

The Human Side of the Indian. By Alexander F. Chamberlain. (Pop. Sci. Mo., Vol. 68, pp. 503-514).

Acquisition of Written Language by Primitive Peoples. By Alexander F. Chamberlain. (Amer. Journ. Psychol., Vol. xvii, pp. 69-80).

Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Northwestern America. By Harlan I. Smith. (Bull. Amer. Geogr. Soc., Vol. xxxviii).

Captain Friederici's monograph on *Scalping and like War-customs in America*, which served him as a thesis for the doctorate at the University of Leipzig, is well documented and contains much relating to the aborigines of Canada. The author points out the error of the common opinion that scalping prevailed over all North America but was absent from the southern half of the continent. In the Chaco and in part of Guiana scalping is known to have been in vogue, while there are large regions of North America where it seems never to have been practised. Friederici informs us that, except some of the tribes in Alaska, the Eskimos neither scalped nor preserved head-trophies ; neither did the primitive northern Athapascans, some of whom, however, learned scalping later from the Algonkian peoples, who, like the Iroquois, practised it at the time of the Columbian discovery, at which period scalping prevailed all along the Atlantic region from New-

foundland to Florida, with few exceptions. In the central region of the United States and north-central Canada scalping appears to be of more recent date. Interesting is the section of this book dealing with " the extension and emphasizing of the custom of scalping through the influence of the European colonists " (pp. 37-76). The story of the use of " the scalping knife " of the whites is not at all pleasant reading ; nor the lists of " scalp rewards," offered by unwritten and by printed law (French and English). Though in America, as a whole, the custom of head-trophies prevailed over a much larger extent of territory than that of scalping, the contact of the whites and Indians in North America, frontier experiences, and the fictional literature of the land have given the latter almost a "poetic " touch, which has made many forget the other. The list of works referred to occupies pages 138-170 and there is also a distribution-map.

Mrs. Jayne's elaborate and profusely illustrated study of *Cat's Cradle* deserves mention by reason of the material recorded from Eskimos of Baffin Land, Thompson River Indians of British Columbia, Kwaliutl of Vancouver Island, and other Canadian aborigines. It is an interesting fact that Dr. Franz Boas, in 1888, was apparently the first authority to describe the making of these string figures by primitive peoples, his account being based on personal observations among the Baffin Land Eskimos. Professor Haddon believes (p. xxviii) that " the Eskimo evidence proves that the cat's cradle may, in part, have a magical significance," and further inquiry along this line is suggested. The American " cat's cradle " belongs to what is called the " Oceanic type," the " Asiatic type," curiously enough, not occurring in the New World, at least among the aborigines.

The new edition of *The Living Races of Mankind* is even better illustrated than the old, while the text has also been amended, though it still lags behind the artistic portions of the work. The sections falling within our field are those occupying pages 666-736 and treating of Arctic America and

the Indians of North America, and these are furnished by Mr. Lydekker, whose chief reliance seems to be upon Deniker and Keane. The favourable attitude (p. 673) to Marcou's derivation of "America" from a pre-Columbian Central American *Amerrique* is unjustifiable. The statement concerning the general character of *all* American Indian languages, made on page 684, would not be approved by competent authorities, such as Dr. Franz Boas, whose views on the subject we note elsewhere. The remarks at the foot of page 711 and at the foot of page 713 that " Sarcees or Bloods are a branch of the Algonquian Black-feet," and that " the Sarcees branch of the Black-feet are the westernmost of all the Algonquian tribes," are scarcely accurate, since the Sarcees, though they have formed part of the federation of the Blackfeet, are really of Athapascan lineage. Apart from such inaccuracies, the *Living Races of Mankind*, which has increased in bulk some 200 pages and added in proportion to its illustrations, is a very interesting and useful book. Closer attention to American authorities would have eliminated some of the errors and inaccuracies of statement.

Dr. Chamberlain's article on *The Human Side of the Indian* is based upon personal experiences in the Kootenay country. It treats of childhood and family life, knowledge and usage of animals, white-Indian contact, sense of humour, Indian emotions, character, and such topics. His second paper sums up the chief facts concerning the attempts by missionaries and others (from the Récollet Father Le Clercq in 1655 among the Micmacs of Gaspé to the efforts of Le Jeune and Morice among the natives of British Columbia at the close of the last century) to enable, by means of certain " syllabic alphabets," the uncivilized Indian peoples of North America to read and write their own languages. The Canadian Indians considered are the Micmacs with their " hieroglyphics " ; the Crees, with Evans's syllabary, its cognates and imitations now quite wide spread, even among Eskimos and Athapascans ; the Athapascans (Morice, Kirkby, etc.); Salishans and Chinook Jargon

(Le Jeune); Eskimo (Peck); Sioux (Evans). These "alphabets" are of diverse origins but all of them seem to render very easy the acquisition of a written tongue by many different Indian peoples. In this article inquiry into a hitherto unexplored phase of racial psychology and pedagogy is begun. Father Le Clercq got his idea by watching Indian children making marks on birch-bark as an *aide-mémoire* in their prayers, while Evans's and Le Jeune's systems had stenographic prototypes.

Dr. Smith briefly summarizes explorations in 1897-99 and 1903, of village sites and graves in the southern interior of British Columbia, shell heaps and cairns on the coasts of British Columbia and Washington, etc. The details of these explorations have appeared in various special monographs noticed in previous volumes of this REVIEW.

ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN

Internationaler Amerikanisten-Kongress, Vierzehnte Tagung, Stuttgart, 1904. Stuttgart, 1906. 2 Thle. u. Suppl. Bd. Pp. lxxxxvii, 708, 87. Illustrations.

American Anthropologist (New Series). Vol. VIII, Nos. 1-4. Pp. 744. Illustrated.

Journal of American Folk-Lore. Vol. XIX, Nos. 1-4. Pp. 360.

Man, A Monthly Record of Anthropological Science. (London.) Vol. VII, Nos. 1-12. Pp. 192. Illustrated.

The Proceedings of the Stuttgart Congress of Americanists, just published, include several articles relating more or less to Canada : Dr. Y. Nielsen's *Die ältesten Verbindungen zwischen Norwegen und Amerika* (pp. 91-99) ; Dr. W. Thalbitzer's *Eskimo Dialects and Wanderings* (pp. 107-118) ; W. Jochelson's *Ueber asiatische und amerikanische Elemente in den Mythem der Koriaken* (pp. 119-127) ; Sternberg's *Bemerkungen über Beziehungen zwischen der Morphologie der giljakischen und amerikanischen Sprachen* (pp. 137-140) ; Dr. F. Boas's *Der Einfluss der socialen Gliederung der Kwakiutl auf deren Kultur* (pp. 141-148). Dr. Nielsen, from examination

of the oldest Scandinavian records, concludes that in the eleventh century the coast of Nova Scotia was inhabited by Eskimos. It is possible also that some of the natives met by the old Norsemen belonged to Indian tribes living then as now in juxtaposition to the Eskimo communities. He is likewise of opinion that the ocean voyage by King Harold Haardraade related by Adam of Bremen was to Vinland and not to the Icy sea. Dr. Nielsen calls attention to resemblances extending even to details, between the Norwegian-Icelandic *knattleikr* and the Indian game of *lacrosse*, pointed out by the archivist E. Hertzberg in a recently published article on old Norwegian ball-games. But the significance of such coincidences is easily misinterpreted or exaggerated. Dr. Thalbitzer's researches on Eskimo dialects have since been embodied in his book, *A Phonetic Study of the Eskimo Language*, noticed by us in 1904. M. Jochelson's studies of 139 Koriak myths reveal the fact that out of 122 episodes, 83 per cent. are met with also in myths of the North American Indians, 29 per cent. in those of the Eskimos, and but 18 per cent. in the traditions and legends of the Mongolo-Turkic peoples and those of the Old World in general. Much in Koriak mythology reminds one of the lore of the Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian Indians ; also of the legends and tales of the Athapascan tribes. The raven-myths suggest in particular corresponding tales of the Tlingit. On the whole the Koriak myths resemble in form more those of the Athapascan Indians, to which in character and content they seem to be closer than to those of the Tlingit. These American-Asiatic relationships open up a new field for scientific investigation, which is further indicated by Sternberg's demonstration of morphological and syntactic resemblances between the Giliak language of northeastern Asia and certain American Indian tongues. According to Sternberg the Giliaks, not merely in speech, but also in religious ideas and institutions, social culture and mythology, are *Americanoid*. Dr. Boas, in his discussion of the influence of the social structure of the Kwakiutl Indians upon their

culture, touches upon a question of great ethnological importance, viz., the quite recent transformation of a people with originally a loose social organization into one with a marked clan-system with inheritance. This metamorphosis of the Kwakiutl has taken place under the influence of the culture of those tribes of northern British Columbia which possess genuine totems, material succession, etc. This newer social arrangement dominates now the whole life and thought of the people, all their activities and ideas. The interpretation of art-products has come under the same influence. In this metamorphosis of the Kwakiutl it is possible to see how, through new developments, older customs and institutions have new forms and meanings imposed upon them.

The volume for 1906 of the *American Anthropologist* contains the following articles relating to the Canadian aborigines, in part or in whole : Harlan I. Smith's *A Remarkable Pipe from Northwestern America* (pp. 33-38) ; David I. Bushnell's *North American Ethnographical Material in Italian Collections* (pp. 243-255) and *The Sloane Collection in the British Museum* (pp. 671-685) ; G. G. MacCurdy's *The Fifteenth International Congress of Americanists* (pp. 691-700) ; and the valuable compilation, *Recent Progress in American Anthropology*, a review of the activities of institutions and individuals from 1902 to 1906 (pp. 441-558), which records much work concerning the Indian tribes of the Dominion. Dr. Smith describes a steatite ceremonial pipe, said to have been found in a mummy cave at Ellamar, Cook's Inlet, Alaska, which is of a " form now believed to be peculiar to the interior plateau region of Oregon, Washington and southern British Columbia." It is possible that this curious pipe (several British Columbia pipes resembling it are figured in the article) may be an intrusive specimen, whose presence in Alaska is due to trade or personal gift. The bowl is of the form characteristic of pipes of the Thompson river region. Of recent years the importance of the ethnographical material relating to the American Indians to be found in European

Museums and other collections public and private is being more and more understood. And not a little of this material has come from Canada. In his first paper (well illustrated with beautiful plates) Dr. Bushnell writes briefly of a small collection (made by Capt. Cook in 1778) from the Nootka region and thereabouts, now in the Anthropological Museum in Florence ; the rich material from the northwest Pacific coast in the collection of Professor Giglioli ; Sioux and Algonkian specimens in various museums including the Kircheriano Museum in Rome ; a Huron wampum belt in the Trocadero Museum, Paris, and others. The small collection in the Collegio di Propaganda Fide in Rome is notable for possessing " a piece of wampum, which is probably the finest existing example of that form of art." This remarkable specimen " was probably made for some missionary in the St. Lawrence valley or in the Iroquois country." The Sloane collection, acquired by the British Museum in 1753 (some of the specimens may have been brought to England in the seventeenth century,) contains a number of objects (a nest of 30 birch-bark baskets, snowshoes, cradle-board, quill-belt, etc.) " from Hudson Bay." The set of bark baskets, all similar in form and decoration, and fitting one into another, is of considerable interest. In this collection are also some Iroquois objects, among them " a cord made of hemp and porcupine quills died, from the Iroquois by the Indian Kings—given me by Mr. Middleton—for tying their prisoners." The " Indian Kings " referred to here, are evidently those who visited Queen Anne in 1710 and were noticed in No. 50 of the *Spectator*. Several other relics of their presence also survive in England.

The nineteenth volume of the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* has the following articles : M. R. Harrington's *Dara-sákwa, a Caughnawaga legend* (pp. 127-129), the tale of the metamorphosis of a bold and fearless young man into a water-monster, a gigantic horned river-serpent ; Alexander F. Chamberlain's *Variations in early human culture* (pp. 177-190),

which has a number of references to Canadian Indians ; Harlan I. Smith's *Some Ojibwa myths and traditions* (pp. 215-230), legends from the Michigan Ojibwa but of interest for the history of their Canadian brethren ; S. C. Simms's *The Metawin society of the Bungees or Swampy Indians of Lake Winnipeg* (pp. 330-333) and *Myths of the Bungees* (pp. 134-340). The two brief articles of Mr. Simms are a welcome addition to the scant literature of these Algonkian Indians. The sketch of the Metawin, or secret society of the " great medicine " is useful for comparison with the accounts of the same institution among the Ojibwa by Hoffman and others. The myths of the Bungees recorded here include the story of the origin of death and the institution of the ceremony of the " tent of life " (the metawin), and an account of the achievements of Weese-ke-jak (Wisketchak), " a sort of foreman god," the deluge legend and the tale of the reconstitution of the earth after the flood. This adds another variant to the flood-myths of the Nanibozhu cycle.

The numbers of *Man* for 1906 contain but two brief articles relating to Canada, one by Professor W. Ridgeway, *Note on the motives carved on some Haida totem spoons and pipes* (pp. 145-148), and another by D. J. Bushnell, Jr., on *The use of buffalo hair by the North American Indians* (pp. 177-180), both well illustrated. Professor Ridegway's conclusion, from the examination of the art-motives of three spoons and a pipe, is that they " represent either the origin of certain clans, who believed that they were sprung from the union of a human and an animal progenitor, or from two beast ancestors, whilst in some cases the latter class may well symbolize intermarriage of clans with different totems." From Mr. Bushnell's article we learn how widespread among North American Indians was the utilization of the hair or wool of the buffalo in the manufacture of cloth.

ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN

Versteinerter Ausguss von dem Mokassin eines Indianers. Von G. Fritsch. (Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie, Vol. xxxvii, 1905, pp. 970-971).

Stellar Legends of the American Indians. By J. C. Hamilton. (Trans. Roy. Astron. Soc. Canada, 1905, pp. 47-50).

The Lillooet Indians. By James Teit, edited by Franz Boas (Mem. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anthrop. Ser., Jesup N. Pacif. Exped., vol. ii, pt. v.).

Kwakiutl Texts. By Franz Boas and George Hunt. (Ibid., vol. iii, pt. iii, pp. 403-532).

Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida. By John R. Swanton. (Ibid., vol. vi, pt. i, pp. 1-300).

Fritsch's brief article is remarkable in that it describes a *petrified moccasin* from the south shore of the Little Slave Lake, "which may be a relic of tertiary man." Mr. J. C. Hamilton's article on star legends of the American Indians is a brief abstract from a chapter of his forthcoming book on the Pleiades, in which the subject is to be treated in an elaborate and comprehensive fashion. The Indian tribes referred to are the Crees, Ojibwa and Wyandots.

The Lillooet Indians, a Salishan people of the Coast range of southwestern British Columbia, are divided into four bands numbering altogether some 1600 persons ; of these the Pemberton band alone shows signs of increase. Mr. Teit treats in detail of their arts and industries (basket-making, said to be very old among them, has degenerated since contact with the whites, *ca.* 1858), habitations, hunting and fishing (salmon-fishing has been the most important industry of the tribe), trade and commerce (these Indians were great traders and middlemen), tools and weapons, games and pastimes, social organization, birth, childhood, marriage and death, religion. Generally speaking the Lillooets resemble the Thompson River Indians more than they do any others of the neighbouring peoples. Some of their culture peculiarities have, comparatively recently, been abandoned. They no longer possess, for instance, semi-subterranean dwellings.

Dr. Boas and Mr. Hunt's first volume of Kwakiutl texts is closed with the present number, but another is announced as in preparation. The texts here given concern ceremonies and festivals of the Kwakiutl ; the native texts of some 50 tales are given, with an English rendering on the opposite page, an excellent method of presentation in many ways. At the end of the volume abstracts of the texts are given, and philological use of this valuable material is facilitated by the listing of stem-words, suffixes, etc. Dr. Swanton's contribution to Haida ethnology is another fruitful result of the recent explorations of the North Pacific coast begun by the Jesup Expedition and carried on in co-operation with the Bureau of American Ethnology in Washington. This monograph deals with cosmic ideas (the supernatural beings are divided into ravens and eagles, as are men and women), social organization (clans, totems), shamanism, witchcraft, taboos, secret societies, pot-latches, etc., tribal history and traditions (two series, Skidegate and Masset). There are also given lists of Haida families, villages and houses, and the work is well provided with maps and illustrations. It goes without saying that this adds immeasurably to our knowledge of the Haida and their institutions and beliefs. Nothing else can approach it in authority. One rather curious fact brought out is that secret societies are often the property of certain families. The raven-clan is thought to be the older and more native division, the eagle-clan having been introduced probably from the continent to the islands.

ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN

Noms géographiques de la Province de Québec et des Provinces Maritimes empruntés aux langues sauvages, avec carte indiquant les territoires occupés autrefois par les races aborigènes. Etymologie, traduction, et orthographie. Par Eugène Rouillard. Québec : Ed. Marcotte, 1906. Pp. 110.

A Study of the Etymology of the Indian Place Name Missisquoi. By George McAleer. Worcester, Mass. : The Blanchard Press, 1906. Pp. 104.

These titles, together with M. Roy's book reviewed elsewhere (*supra*, p. 112), indicate an unwonted activity in the study of Canadian place-names derived from American Indian languages. The index to M. Roy's thick volume contains some 155 Indian names in a total of about 1200 considered. M. Rouillard treats of about 375. All the Indian names in Roy are not cited in Rouillard, nor *vice versa*. Under the letter A the following in the former are not to be found in the latter : Abatoush, Ahuntsic, Aroussen, Attikamagen ; and these under M : Marienquatacook, Minigo, Misquachuan, Missiquini. The other letters would show about the same proportions. M. Rouillard includes in his list *Labrador*, which is no more a word of Indian origin than is America, certain persistent writers to the contrary notwithstanding. The data given concerning such important names as Acadie, Anticosti, Batiscan, Hochelaga, Miramichi, Ottawa, Pictou, Ristigouche, Saguenay, Stadacona, Tadoussac, etc., exhibit an amazing amount of disagreement on the part of " authorities " past and present, which leads one to believe that the acquaintance of some of them with the fundamental principles of the Algonkian and Iroquoian tongues has after all been very slight indeed. A large portion of the "etymologies" given are often no better than mere guess work ; and some of the missionaries even, after long residence among the Indians, appear to disagree utterly with one another in their interpretations of native words. *Wapitagun* (Rouillard, p. 99), the name of an island on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, signifies, according to Father Arnaud, "island of the white-winged cormorants," while the French-Montagnais dictionary gives its meaning as "one sees it." It were high time to dismiss the "guesses" as to the meaning of Quebec. There is no doubt whatever (a moment's glance, even from Dufferin Terrace, up and down the river convinces one of the accuracy of the Indian term) that the Algonkian *kepek*, "the river narrows here," is the origin of the name of the famous Canadian city. And, just as certainly, Gaspé comes from the Micmac *gespeg*, "(land's)

end." M. Rouillard's book contains a number of names belonging neither to the province of Quebec nor to the Maritime provinces, e.g. Athabasca, Manitoba, Manitoulin, Muskoka, Nepigon, Saskatchewan, Toronto, Winnipeg, etc. A good illustration of the Aryan decapitation of Indian words is seen in the village-name Magog, reduced from Memphremagog, while Romaine will serve as an example of the Gallicizing of an aboriginal name.

The unsatisfactory character of the discussions of the etymology of the name Missisquoi, applied to a bay and county in the province of Quebec and to a river in northern Vermont, justified Dr. McAleer, who was born and brought up in Missisquoi county, in attempting to solve the problem of its Indian origin. In his little volume will be found all that is known of the history of the word, with the opinions and discussions of all authorities from the earliest to the most recent,—practically every etymology that has ever been suggested is recorded, and the list of them is an object lesson in the difficulties as well as the "ease" of etymologizing. The derivations suggested vary all the way from "much waterfowl" to "big woman" and "place of great stones." The author is, however, right in favouring the etymology, agreed to by Mr. W. W. Tooker, the Algonkinist, which derives the word from Abenaki (or some related dialect), and makes it signify, "a great grassy place," or "a great marshy place." The Missisquoi Historical Society has done well in encouraging the production of this interesting monograph.

Alexander F. Chamberlain

VI. BIBLIOGRAPHY, LAW, EDUCATION

Report Concerning Canadian Archives for the year 1905. Vols. I and II. Ottawa : S. E. Dawson, 1906.

The massive volumes which contain part of the Report of the Dominion Archivist with appendices for 1905 are an indication of the manner in which he proposes to carry out the plans outlined in the Report for 1904. The opening sentence reveals the spirit in which the work has been commenced : " The principal task which we have undertaken for the advancement of historical science is an investigation or critical examination of the archives of the Dominion with a view of publishing a book of reference or general guide for the service of future inquirers." For the future, therefore, as long as the lines laid down by Dr. Doughty are followed, historical students are to receive the fullest consideration. Every effort is to be made to secure or copy documents, wherever fôund, which throw light upon any portion of the history of the Dominion. When these are conveniently housed in the new buildings, students of Canadian history will look to Ottawa as their Mecca. The work already done or outlined covers an immense area and gives some indication of the untiring industry and devotion which characterize the Archivist and his staff.

The reports from assistants who have been dispatched to the different provinces naturally form the first portion of the Report, and first among these is that of Dr. Hannay, to whom was allotted the Maritime provinces. His report on Nova Scotia, much of which covers the same ground as that of the late Mr. Akin, is comprehensive and apparently complete, but until the list of papers which he promises at an early date is published, it is difficult to say how much has been added to our knowledge of the contents of the archives at Halifax. The registers of the oldest church in Halifax, St. Paul's, commenced in 1750, which are a mine for the historian of Nova Scotian families, are to be copied, as are also the registers at Sidney and Antigonish, which have been carefully examined.

With the New Brunswick papers at Fredericton Dr. Hannay is of course more familiar, and we look for a perfect calendar of these hitherto unprinted documents. The work is only fairly begun and many small private collections as well as the archives of Prince Edward Island have yet to be examined.

The area covered by French Canada is recalled by the report of Father O'Leary on the collection of nearly 3000 documents recently unearthed in southern Illinois, known as the Kaskaskia papers. These mainly consist of notarial and commercial documents dating from 1720 to 1790, and show how completely the *habitant* carried with him his national laws and customs. The extensive and interesting collection of papers made by Mr. C. M. Burton of Detroit (much of which should have been retained in Canada) was by the kindness of the owner carefully examined and permission was given to copy a large number of papers of special interest. The generous manner in which Mr. Burton places his vast collection at the service of students is worthy of much praise. The papers of Colonel Askin, which Mr. Burton purchased from Askin's grandson, contain much interesting matter relating to the fur companies and to the early days of the province of Upper Canada, constant correspondence being kept up with such men as Alexander Henry, James McGill, Isaac Todd, W. Dummer Powell and others prominent in trade and official circles. A volume of Mr. Burton's papers referring to the war of 1812 has not been unknown to writers on the period, as most of it has been printed in the Proceedings of the Michigan Pioneer Society, but as a whole these papers deserve more attention than has been bestowed upon them. Written by Colonel Askin's son Charles, who was present at most of the engagements, they furnish excellent first authorities. The Chicago Historical Society has been enabled, mainly by purchase, to gather together a valuable collection, principally the papers of the French missionaries and traders of the 17th and 18th centuries. These Father O'Leary was permitted to inspect, and a number of them which he copied

are printed at length in the Report. Mr. H. P. Biggar, who has done such excellent work both in connection with the University of Toronto and the Archives, has been instructed to continue his researches on a wider basis among the public and private papers of France, Italy and Spain, and has, as a first token, handed in a series of pre-Cartier documents discovered in France, which throw light on that obscure period.

The appendices to the Report are most voluminous. In that of 1904 the Archivist printed the text of the Instructions to the Governors of Canada down to 1791, and now he gives those of the Governors of Lower Canada from 1791 to 1839, the period when the two provinces were disunited. The history of the land tenure of Prince Edward Island remains to be written and the imperial Orders in Council of August, 1767, making the grants, with the names of the grantees, are here printed as the basis for a work of this kind. The calendar of the papers and plans in the Archives relating to the fortifications of the colonies is completed, and a list of the additional Canadian documents in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris is appended. Through the kindness of M. de La Rogerie the text of some letters of Vaudreuil, Lévis and Dumas in 1760 is here given in full, supplementing the series already printed by the late Abbé Casgrain. The family of the late M. Richard have transferred to the Archives the remainder of the list of documents in Paris concerning the colonies, and it is not too much to say that the calendar contains a very large number of papers which throw an extraordinary light on the manner in which the smallest details of Canadian administration were settled in France. Early Canadian history has been largely written hitherto from a Canadian standpoint, now it must be written from that of the mother country.

Occupying 262 pages of the first volume is a genealogy of the families of La Beauce prepared by M. l'Abbé Charles Beaumont and collated by Father O'Leary from the original in the Archives of St. Joseph de la Beauce. It is questionable

if there exists anywhere such a complete register of population, in many cases stretching over two centuries, as has been preserved by the clergy in Quebec, and no better example of its completeness could be furnished than the one here printed. It remains, however, a question whether the printing of genealogies of this kind is a task which should be thrown upon the Dominion Archives. The information, which is exceedingly interesting to the members of the families mentioned, has little or no general historic value, and the space thus taken might with advantage be devoted to documents of more general interest to students not only in the Dominion but beyond its borders. In a still greater degree the same can be said of the Acadian and other genealogies which occupy the whole of the second volume of over one thousand pages. It is proposed eventually to complete an Acadian genealogical dictionary on the same lines, we presume, as that of the Abbé Tanguay, at a very considerable cost. The work is well worthy of the assistance of the government but it should be in the form of a grant to aid those more directly interested to do this work.

The whole of the appendices, as well as the Report, are furnished with most ample indices for which the hearty thanks of all students should be given. The Archivist has added to the interest and value of the Report by printing for the first time four maps of exceptional interest. These are "The Town of York, 1823," De Léry's plan of the fortifications of Quebec, the plan of the battle of St. Foy, 1760, and a plan of Quebec, 1660. All are beautifully printed in colour and afford some idea of the wealth of material of the kind which has been collected in the Archives.

A third volume to complete the Report for 1905 has not yet been finished. The sub-title, "Documents concerning the constitutional history of Canada, with Index," is rich in promise, and not the less so that they are to be edited by Professor Shortt.

To the Archivist too much praise cannot be accorded for his energy and foresight in following up every clue to documents throwing light on Canadian history, and for the industry and patience which these volumes reveal. The promise that the results of his most recent finds, the Durham, Townsend and Chatham papers, will appear in the next Report, will stimulate students to watch for it eagerly. Meanwhile the pressing desire on the part of those in sympathy with Dr. Doughty, and who realize the possibilities of the position, is that the Government may be induced to see the importance of the field which has been opened up and the necessity for the appointment of a Historical Commission to uphold his hands, and to aid by counsel and experience in perfecting the noble ideal which he has outlined.

JAMES BAIN

Third Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario. By Alexander Fraser, Provincial Archivist. Toronto : L. K. Cameron, 1906. Pp. cxxxix, 546.

Mr. Alexander Fraser, the Archivist of the province of Ontario, has published as his third Report a volume of seven hundred pages, with numerous maps, plans, portraits, and facsimiles, all relating to the period of the loyalist settlement. The documents here printed for the first time consist chiefly of the minutes of the proceedings of the Land Boards of Hesse and in part of Nassau,—the two most westerly of the districts into which the present Ontario was divided before the creation of Upper and Lower Canada. Of the other two divisions, Mecklenburg and Luneburg, the minutes have not been recovered ; but it is not unlikely that the patient research of Mr. Fraser will bring them to light from the unexamined masses of documents still in our public offices.

The Report is in three sections : A (misprinted B, however), a brief reference to part of the extensive material collected and deposited in the new vaults of the Archives office during

the year ; B, a comprehensive and valuable series of notes on land tenure in Canada, forming an appropriate introduction to the third division ; and C, the minutes, lists, letters and documents relating to the work of the Land Boards of these two original divisions of what afterwards became Upper Canada.

Among the most important documents obtained for the Archives Office during the year are those from the Department of Lands, Forests, and Mines. The fifty-seven volumes of journals and notes of David Thompson (1797-1823), the official geographer and explorer of the North-West Company, whose name is perpetuated in the most important tributary of the Fraser river, are almost equalled in importance by the field-notes of the original surveyors of two hundred and seventy-one municipalities. Since these journals are now so easily accessible it is to be hoped that some Canadian historical student will be stimulated to publish with copious notes a fuller history of the explorations and discoveries of this famous pioneer trader and astronomer, who laid down the boundary line between the United States and Canada. In looking over the enumeration of townships of which the field-notes are now available we regret to notice that the names of several of the first settled townships do not appear. It is not impossible that in some future report Mr. Fraser may be able to fill up these gaps. Besides these two very valuable collections, there came from the same Department, belonging to the same period, a large number of original deeds, grants, certificates, applications, letters, petitions, resolutions, and instructions of various kinds,—all of which furnish admirable raw material for the history of Ontario, which is as yet unwritten.

Among the long list of miscellaneous documents received from various sources may be mentioned the papers from the family of the late Dr. Larratt Smith (1804-1869), containing deeds of land granted to the family of General Benedict Arnold in Upper Canada ; the papers of the late Rev. John Scott (1839-1847) ; from the late Mr. Christopher Robinson, the

original papers relating to the Capitulation of Detroit, 1812 ; the extensive collection of documents, pamphlets, and letters of Dr. J. George Hodgins ; from Lieut.-Col. R. Z. Rogers, the documents, deeds, journals, letters, and diaries of Col. Robert Rogers of Rogers' Rangers and of his famous brother James ; and the Washburn papers, contributed by Mr. W. R. Haight, which constitute an important page in the history of Prince Edward County.

The most unique discovery, however, is the original manuscript proceedings of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada for the third session of the First Legislature (1792-1796), hitherto unknown and supposed to be in "some dusty pigeonhole in old London." As the late Mr. Christopher Robinson a few years ago presented to the Library of the Legislature the long missing records of the fourth session (1795), we may trust with confidence that the minutes of the sixth session will be found, and that we shall yet possess a tolerably complete history of the proceedings of the legislators in homespun who laid the foundations of the institutions of the great province of Ontario.

In section B, the editor has brought into small compass practically all that is known concerning the various land tenures that have obtained in this province from the earliest times. This itself is a valuable service to Canadian history. The circular concerning the Formation of Land Boards (1789) is not without its moral value now ; it insists on examining the "loyalty, character and pretensions of applicants, to avoid discontent ; and prescribes definite restrictions" to prevent individuals from monopolizing such spots as contain mines, minerals, fossils, and conveniences for mills and other singular advantages of a common and public nature, "to the prejudice of the general interest of the settlers." With a polyglot west and giant-like monopolies growing still more colossal through public franchises granted in perpetuity, we may awaken too late to the wisdom of the measures of a Dorchester or a Haldimand.

The reproductions of early maps and plans (from the originals in the Bureau of Archives) are of both local and general value and interest ; and every public library in the province should treasure these Reports as the best incentives to the study of local history. We look forward to instalments in future Reports from the valuable lists of maps (pp. xxxviii-xl) already collected with infinite pains by Mr. Fraser.

The volume is somewhat marred by "typographical corrections" (p. cxl) ; and unfortunately these could be considerably extended. In reproducing the original documents an attempt has been made to indicate the presence of the antique long "s" by substituting the modern character "f" (p. cix). If the antique hieroglyphic was not available the modern letter "s" is much to be preferred. The general index to the Report reaches the high standard set by previous issues from the Bureau. It may be noted also that the vaults, which already after merely three years contain so many historical treasures, have been rendered absolutely safe from fire, from dampness, and from the danger of falling material, after the only type of construction that stood the test in the Baltimore fire.

JOHN STEWART CARSTAIRS

Québec et Nouvelle France — Bibliographie. Inventaire chronologique des ouvrages publiés a l'étranger en diverses langues sur Québec et la Nouvelle France depuis la découverte du Canada jusqu'à nos jours, 1534-1906. Par N. E. Dionne. Tome II. Pp. viii, 155, xvi. Quebec, 1906. (Also in Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, second series, volume xi, Appendix, section i.)

We have already reviewed the first volume of M. Dionne's "Inventaire chronologique des livres publiés en langue française dans la Province du Quebec," and we have now the second, which is devoted to books on Quebec published abroad. M. Dionne proposes, as a further continuation, to print a list of the books published in English and other lan-

guages than French, and finally to complete his work by a full catalogue of atlases and maps relating to Quebec. In this way he hopes to cover everything of interest or value relating to the province of Quebec. The second volume, like the first, is not intended to be a model catalogue, but is only a chronological list, admirably suited for finding a work if the reader is acquainted with the date of publication, or if he wishes to know what the output was for any year, but of little practical value when the reader knows only the author's name. In this volume the task of the compiler has been much more difficult than for the first volume, for which he could make his entries directly from the books. Here from the omissions, and from the incompleteness of many of the entries, it is evident that he has been dependent upon catalogues more or less imperfect.

M. Dionne has spent some pains in summing up the place of publication and the language in which the books are printed, with the following result :—

France	741	Switzerland	6
Great Britain	504	Canada	6
United States	430	Denmark	2
Holland	68	Spain	2
Germany	47	Indo-China	1
Italy	16	Chili	1
Belgium	9	without place	167

and in the following languages :—

French	966	Dutch	20
English	940	Italian	15
Latin	29	Spanish	4
German	26		

It is interesting to note that the books in English about Quebec nearly equal in number those in French, in spite of the preponderance of the latter in the eighteenth century, and that nearly one-half of the books printed in Germany, Holland, Denmark and Belgium were in French.

M. Émile Salone's *Guillaume Raynal** is an elaborate examination of Raynal's well known "Histoire Philosophique" and other works in so far as they relate to Canada, with especial reference to his sources of information and the trustworthiness of his views. M. Salone shows that Raynal drew much from Charlevoix and that his work, always second-rate, is inaccurate and one-sided. Raynal was a disciple of Rousseau and as such more interested in the life of the aborigines of America than in the attempt to carry to them European culture. Following Rousseau's admiration for the savage life he condemns the traders who corrupted the Indians. For the missionaries he has, of course, no sympathy. In combating Raynal M. Salone, who is an authority on the history of French colonization in Canada, incidentally defends the old régime, to some extent. He also defends the Canadians against Raynal's charges of indolence, dishonesty and immorality. He brings out clearly that Raynal's great popularity and influence were largely instrumental in preventing any serious attempt by France to recover Canada at the time of the American Revolution.

The French-Canadian literature, the history of which from 1800 to 1820 the Abbé Camille Roy relates,† was in its extreme infancy during the period named. It existed only in the form of periodicals, half political, half literary, which have always maintained themselves in French Canada. The chief of these were *Le Canadien, Le Courrier de Québec, Le Vrai Canadien, Le Spectateur, L'Aurore, L'Abeille Canadienne.* Besides a good deal of rhetorical prose these journals devoted part of their space to poetry, also somewhat rhetorical. M. Roy quotes a number of specimens in which patriotic spirit (many of them were written during the war of 1812) is more conspicuous than poetic rapture. Epigrams, fables, and satiric

**Guillaume Raynal, historien du Canada, Étude Critique.* Par Émile Salone. Paris : E. Guilmoto [1906]. Pp. viii, 90.

†*Étude sur l'histoire de la littérature canadienne, 1800-1820.* Par l'Abbé Camille Roy. (Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., 2nd series, vol. xi, sect. i, pp. 89-133.)

verse were also favourite forms, and many of these are creditable specimens of Gallic wit. Joseph Quesnel, J. D. Mermet and Michel Bibaud are the principal versifiers of the period.

In the *Mercure de France** there is a very searching criticism of the general condition of French-Canadian literature at the present time. The author concludes that in consequence of the ecclesiastical ban upon the vast majority of the greatest French writers of the day the French-Canadian literature is condemned to a feeble copying of antiquated models.

Mr. Archibald MacMurchy, who retired recently from the Rectorship of the Collegiate Institute, Toronto, has used his leisure to write a *Handbook of Canadian Literature*† which will prove a useful guide to those desiring information about Canadian writers. There are sketches of the life and work of about 150 persons. William Smith, Robert Chrtistie, Major John Richardson, and other early writers on Canadian history are, of course, included. It is an odd fact that two writers each named Alexander Begg, contemporaries, Scots, and residents in the Canadian West, each wrote on the history of that country. Mr. MacMurchy praises Mr. Kingsford's industry as shown in his History of Canada but thinks the book dull. Writing in the third person he says that "he gave most of his holiday, one summer, to the reading of the History, and though he learned many things which he did not know before, the recollection is not inspiring." Nowhere else is gathered the information contained in this book ; it is written in a critical spirit and with adequate knowledge.

**La littérature française au pays de Jacques Cartier.* Par R. de Marmande. (Mercure de France, 1er Novembre 1906, pp. 21-33.)

†*Handbook of Canadian Literature* (*English*). By Archibald MacMurchy. Toronto : William Briggs, 1906. Pp. vi, 236.

Mr. Lefroy's article on *A Century of Constitutional Development* is scholarly and suggestive.* After a survey of the growth of self-government in Canada, Mr. Lefroy proceeds to contrast the American and the Canadian constitutions. The Canadian legislatures are much freer than those of the United States where constitutional prohibitions constantly hamper action and give ground for appeals to the courts. The responsibility of the government of the day to the legislatures in Canada is in striking contrast with the system in the United States where the executive power is so largely independent of the legislative. Mr. Lefroy gives abundant illustrations of the despotic powers exercised by the President of the United States, by the Chairmen of Congressional Committees, and by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Certainly very striking differences have developed between the two countries in regard to the working of federal government and Mr. Lefroy's exposition of these contrasts is lucid and convincing.

Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada from the passing of the Constitutional Act of 1791 to the close of the Rev. Dr. Ryerson's Administration of the Education Department in 1876. By J. George Hodgins. Vol. xiv, 1858-1860; Vol. xv, 1860. Toronto : L. K. Cameron, 1906. Pp. viii, 338 ; viii, 338.

The larger portion of the two latest volumes of Dr. Hodgins' *Documentary History of Education* is occupied with University matters, including some account of the ceremonies in connection with the completion of the main building of the University of Toronto, and, what was partly the outcome of this, the controversy with regard to the management of the institution, and the proceedings of the parliamentary committee appointed to investigate the matter in 1860. The design of the University Act of 1853 had been to bring the

**A Century of Constitutional Development upon the North American Continent.* By A. H. F. Lefroy. Reprinted from the Canada Law Journal, July, 1906. Pp. 24.

various colleges in Ontario into one provincial university modelled after the University of London. This body, it was fondly hoped, would prescribe a curriculum which would be accepted by all the colleges, and would practically confer all the degrees granted in the province. At the same time the Act made provision for the maintenance of a provincial college, University College namely, where students of any denomination might, if they chose, obtain the instruction necessary in an undergraduate course. During the five or six years that had elapsed since the passing of this Act, the former part of the design had wholly failed of realization. The curriculum of Toronto was disregarded by the outlying colleges ; only students attending at University College, or pursuing their education privately, came up for degrees. By this same Act of 1853, all the property of the University had been vested in the Crown to be managed by a bursar under direction of the Governor-in-Council for the maintenance of the University and College, with the additional provision that the surplus from income remaining at the end of any year was to "constitute a fund to be, from time to time, appropriated by Parliament for Academical Education in Upper Canada." This surplus was not likely in any case to be large ; not unnaturally it never came into existence. It was an odd arrangement, as some one of the defenders of the University remarked, that economy in its financial management should lessen the funds of the institution. Moreover, needs for expenditure which had not been foreseen when the Act was passed speedily arose. A month or two after it had become law, another Act of the Legislature authorized the Crown to expropriate the portion of the University park which was "not required for collegiate purposes," with the provision that 6 per cent. on the estimated value of the expropriated property should be annually paid into the University Income Fund. In August following, the Executive expropriated just that part of the park which was most required for collegiate purposes, including the University building itself, although there is no mention of build-

ings in the Act. Neither was any interest ever paid on the value of this property, nor was the property used for the purpose mentioned in the Act,—the erection of Government buildings. Presently the University building was converted into a lunatic asylum. The University took refuge in the Parliament buildings ; driven from this subsequently by the return of the Legislature to Toronto, it was forced to content itself with the inadequate accommodation afforded by some structures originally erected for the use of the Medical Faculty. Five times within seven years it was forced to remove, always at its own expense. To put an end to this intolerable condition of affairs the Governor-in-Council, early in 1856, appropriated £75,000 for building purposes. The style of the new buildings, of which the corner stone was laid on October 4th, 1858, required what might well seem to that generation an extravagant expenditure. There can be no doubt that the proviso already mentioned in regard to a surplus was one cause of the lavish outlay upon mere architectural effect. The feelings of those responsible for the new edifice shine through the words of Professor Wilson at the banquet on the occasion of laying the coping stone:

> " In the choice of this day for this celebration—the inauguration of our new building—the building committee were guided by the fact that, upon the same day, two years ago, we laid the foundation stone of this structure. We did not then invite your Excellency to join us, and aid us in that work—we rather proceeded in it something like the returned captive Jews of old, who wrought with swords in their hands, dreading the enemy. Secretly, as if we were engaged almost in a deed of shame, we laid that stone, full of hope, but full also of fear—and perhaps it was well and wisely that it was so done."

The denominational colleges and their supporters felt that they were being tricked out of their expected share in the endowment for higher education. In the spring of 1859 a series of memorials from the Methodist Conferences, from Queen's College, etc., were presented to the Legislature petitioning for an investigation into the management of the University, and the working of the Act of 1853. These were referred to a special committee of the Legislature which sat at Quebec in March and April, 1860. The report of its pro-

ceedings occupy more than 200 pages of the volumes before us. Evidence of persons interested was taken at great length ; there is enough human nature in the proceedings to redeem them from dryness, and some things might raise a smile of wonder in the younger generation. The most conspicuous personage on the side of the petitioners was Dr. Ryerson. He was a vigorous fighter. and such assertions as "The minutes [of the Senate] will show that these expenditures have been chiefly directed by 'a family compact' of gentlemen receiving their salaries from the University and Upper Canada College endowments," were not likely to lead to dull rejoinders. No little bitterness developed. Professor Wilson, who appeared on behalf of University College, considered that

> " a part at least of the otherwise unaccountable conduct he [Dr. Ryerson] is now pursuing in his assault on our university system must be ascribed to his ignorance of the details of a college and university course, consequent on his never having enjoyed the advantage of a university education. I say this in no disparagement of Dr. Ryerson. . . . . For it can be charged as blamable to no man, that he received his education in this province at a time when there was scarcely a grammar school within its borders."

It was not merely the financial management of the University that was attacked, but its curriculum,—especially the options which were granted through its honour system, the importance given to such novelties as Modern Languages and the place given to Meteorology, Agriculture, etc. One is struck by the change in opinion upon some of these matters. The Principal of Queen's University at that date, Dr. Cook, did not think there should be professorships of History and English Literature, of Orientals, or of Modern Languages at University College. He thought "the study of Modern Languages to any great extent, at a University, injurious to the acquirement of classical and mathematical learning, which it is the main purpose of a university education to communicate." Dr. Cook proposed to strike off five of the professorships in University College, and to combine the three professorships in Natural Science into two. But the Vice-Chancellor in his answer notes that in the case of University College Dr. Cook thought there should be one Professor of

Mathematics and Natural Philosophy united; when asked for his disposition of any money from the University fund for Queen's he would have a Professor of Mathematics and *another* of Natural Philosophy,

> "So also he would class together under one chair, at Toronto, Natural History and Chemistry, which have no connection, but at Kingston he would separate Greek from Latin. He proposes, in short, to reduce the professors in University College from ten to five, and to increase those at Queen's from five to seven."

The defence of the University was in very able hands, those of the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. John Langton, who was thoroughly familiar with University affairs, and at once a man of business and of academic antecedents, being himself a graduate of Cambridge. The cause of non-denominational higher education had strong friends in the committee in the Hon. George Brown and the Hon. William Cayley; while the chairman, the Hon. Malcolm Cameron, coincided in his views with the memorialists. Dr. Hodgins states that there is no evidence that any report was ever submitted to the committee for adoption; nor is there any evidence of the committee reporting to the House. Two draft reports, however, survive; one, prepared by the Hon. Malcolm Cameron, recommended that the income of University College should be limited to £7,000 (exclusive of fees), and that the remainder of the receipts from the University endowment should be divided among the other colleges then in operation (or that should after arise), having annual incomes from other sources of not less than £2,000 per annum, provided they held in abeyance their degree-conferring powers; that the grants at that time paid to these colleges should cease and the University proper should itself be sustained by an annual grant. Another and much longer report was prepared by the Hon. George Brown and Mr. Langton, which may be summed up by saying that it finds the allegations of the memorialists not proven. Dr. Hodgins quotes at length a memorandum by Dr. Ryerson upon this latter report, which begins: "This paper misrepresents the question, raises a false issue, and misstates the facts." The real outcome of the inquiry was the appointment of the

Commission of 1860, an account of which will doubtless appear in a subsequent volume.

It seems ungrateful to criticize volumes which are the result of so much labour and of such unequalled acquaintance with the materials, yet one doubts a little the expediency of printing matter not merely already printed but so easily accessible as Acts passed by the Legislature in these later years, or Reports of the Superintendent of Education. It would be an advantage if the editor in each case stated the source, manuscript or printed, of his various documents, and in the former case indicated where the original is preserved.

The *Nineteenth Century* has the first of a series of articles by Mr. W. Frewen Lord* on Canadian colleges and universities. It deals with the Maritime provinces, and Mr. Lord singles out Dalhousie College for praise and King's College and the University of New Brunswick for condemnation.

**Degree-granting Institutions in Canada. I. The Maritime Provinces.* By Walter Frewen Lord. (Nineteenth Century and After, November, 1906, pp. 765-770.)

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